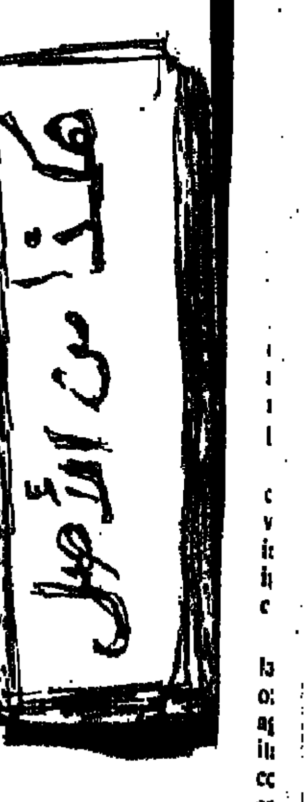


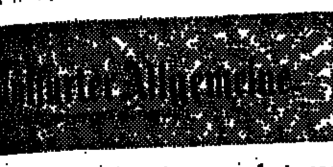
The German Tribune

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Unlimited agenda for the North-South summit



There will be no limit to what can be discussed at the North-South summit in Mexico in October.

The aim of the meeting will be to build confidence for further talks on a new international economic order at the United Nations.

At a preliminary meeting in Mexico to lay the groundwork for October, 22 foreign ministers were unable to agree on an agenda.

Rather than risk confrontation, they ended the meeting early.

So the exchange of views between heads of government of 22 rich and poor countries is to be held without the slightest constraints of protocol and without a written declaration of intent.

Taking part in the meetings are Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Britain, Canada, China, France, Guyana, India, the Ivory Coast, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tanzania, the United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In view of the unpredictable nature of world affairs they had evidently been briefed by their governments to avoid agreeing to any limitation in the number of agenda issues for discussion.

This they were told to do even at the risk of the North-South summit ending without conclusions that could be issued in published form.

Two events contributed towards this unusual readiness to part company without having reached specific conclusions. They were the Ottawa economic summit and Cuba's bid to hold a preliminary conference of southern hemisphere countries in New York.

At Ottawa the South expected the industrialised countries of the West to take a hard line on the North-South. They failed to do so.

Cuba, in contrast, included out of the exclusive gathering of North-South countries, hoped at its proposed pre-conference conference to line up the South for a head-on collision with the United States and the other Western industrialised countries.

The death in a plane crash of General Omar Torrijo, head of the Panamanian national guard, hit the tropical atmosphere of the Mexican holiday resort where the Foreign Ministers met like a cold shower.

General Torrijo's death was felt by a number of delegations to have been timed to coincide with the conference.

He is the second Latin American democratic leader to have died in two months in a plane crash "due to poor weather conditions."

The first was President Roldos of Ecuador, an elected president who after years of military dictatorship restored parliamentary democracy on a note of critical detachment from the United States.

General Torrijo was the man who forced the United States to agree to return the Panama Canal to Panamanian sovereignty.

All in all, the Foreign Ministers' conference as a dress rehearsal for the full summit in October ran smoothly and without sensations.

Delegations preferred not to put their differences of opinion to the fore; they tacitly acknowledged as a possible advantage of the North-South talks the fact that there were no closed fronts even on individual issues.

Bids by both the United States and Mexico to set up basic approaches for both groups at the conference and have them declared generally binding failed from the start.

At a preliminary conference of the South in New York Mexico was unable to gain approval of a 30-page paper as a fundamental document.

In Ottawa the United States was similarly unable to induce the North to adopt a joint approach to the Mexico conference.

Japan and France, however, assured President Lopez Portillo of Mexico at the Foreign Ministers' conference that their views on the North-South talks were attuned to his own.

In other words they, as industrialised countries, feel that economic aid to stabilise political and social conditions in the developing countries is the sole guarantee of developing countries being able to exercise their right of self-determination.

Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who did not make a stopover in Mexico City headed straight for Cancun, the conference venue, and a 90-minute talk with Foreign Minister Huang Hua of China.

Before the Foreign Ministers met Herr Genscher hastened to reaffirm that Germany too felt the industrialised countries were duty bound to give the Third World ecconomic aid with this end in view.

After the gathering he told German journalists the awareness of mutual dependence had been heightened, laying a firm foundation for the October summit.

Bonn would do all it could to ensure a prompt start to overall talks at the UN General Assembly on a new international economic order.

It would also seek to make headway on the findings of the North-South summit. This would be a key feature of German foreign policy.

Canada, France and Germany took a critical view of US economic and foreign policy at the Foreign Ministers' meeting.

This earned them the goodwill of the Southern countries and, oddly enough, prevented an initial confrontation with the United States at the gathering.

US Secretary of State Haig, contrary to his strong words before the Ottawa and Cancun talks, did his best to avoid harsh words and insulting turns of phrase.

He tried to make US readiness to lend a hand appear in the best possible light. The United States is clearly aware that there is a loose but united front crossing North-South lines which is opposed to US monetary and economic policies.

So Washington is keen to avoid the building of forts with their colours nailed to the mast. It would prefer to wage war more flexibly and with greater mobility.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 August 1981)



Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer (left) with Chancellor Schmidt at the Press conference to announce budget plans (See page 3). (Photo: dpa)

A matter of spending priorities

Washington's disappointment at the size of Bonn's proposed increase in defence spending of 4.2 per cent cannot lightly be brushed aside.

At a time when the United States is drastically increasing its arms expenditure this thrift on the part of a major ally may well be seen as a sign that Bonn plans to loosen links with Washington.

This is an issue Bonn must settle, the fact being that different yardsticks apply on either side of the Atlantic.

The Americans want to make good what they feel they have neglected for years, both in overall strategy and in relation to Europe, in comparison with the Soviet Union.

Bonn, on the other hand, does not feel it can accuse itself of neglecting the Bundeswehr.

In domestic terms it is exactly the opposite. The Social and Free Democrats, who share power in Bonn, are under pressure to prune defence spending after years of lavish expenditure.

This pressure is particularly strong because defence cuts are felt to be essential as a counterweight to drastic cuts in the welfare sector.

Other political dynamite would mount up and hardly help Bonn's role as a mainstay of the Western alliance.

Understandably the Bonn Opposition have taken up US dissatisfaction on this score. But they would be well advised not to overdo it.

There is no need to prompt on the home front an outright clash between Washington and Bonn on armaments.

Chancellor Schmidt has given his word that Bonn's (and Nato's) security interests will in no way suffer.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 August 1981)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

J.F.Kennedy visit the brightest of a many-faceted image of Uncle Sam

Relations between Germans and Americans reached an unprecedented peak nearly 20 years ago when President Kennedy visited the Federal Republic.

For a moment the two nations seemed to be one. It was much more than the politely applauded visit of a foreign head of state.

It was a triumphal procession without equal, satisfying for once the ever-present desire for the good guy, the hero in politics.

None of Kennedy's successors managed such a degree of popularity in Germany. US popularity slumped dramatically during the Vietnam war, especially among the younger generation.

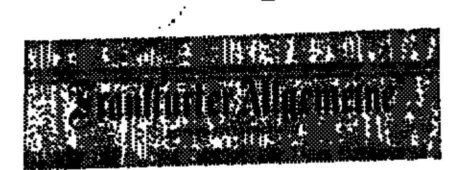
After Watergate the slump was accentuated by what might even be termed moralising, superciliousness, an attitude by no means alien to political ties between Bonn and Washington.

The failure of President Carter's bid to rescue the Tehran hostages was to a large extent registered with a mixture of sympathy and amusement.

The United States is now being criticised again in connection with the arms debate. But do Germans really hold strongly anti-American feelings?

Opinion polls in recent years in no way indicate that they do. The signs are that criticism of the US on specific issues has failed to change the overall esteem in which America is held.

Criticism of the US government on



individual issues is, after all, merely part and parcel of the merry-go-round of news and views in the media age.

The honeymoon is over, it has occasionally been said, and this is probably a more accurate comparison than talk of anti-Americanism.

There can be no mistaking a return to normal, if only because it is a far cry from the days when ties between the two countries were governed more by sentiment.

Judgements and prejudices on other countries are influenced in part, when all is said and done, by personal encounters.

For many who grew up in the US Zone of post-war Germany the United States came to mean GIs who generously doled out such treasured commodities as chewing gum and chocolate.

America was equated with Care food parcels and *Rosinenbomber*, or raisin bombers, as the US airlift planes bound for Berlin were known.

For Germans who grew up in the post-war years the dream of a better tomorrow will always be associated with the American way of life.

This may not be so for today's young people, who are in any case little inclined to accept the historical conditions of their existence.

But as for their elders, memories may have faded, but not to the extent that they have been forgotten, and they are memories that are a poor breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

The special relationship Germans have with the New World is based on more than material considerations. At the end of the war Germany was defeated, destroyed and at odds with itself.

After the war it leant, almost as a matter of course, on the powerful, one might even say legendary, United States and at times hid behind it.

But divided Germany had to come to terms with itself and embarked, like any other country, on a quest for national identity.

In the process it was virtually bound to part-company to some extent with its all-powerful model, the USA.

Genuine anti-Americanism can be studied in Iran, where even the humble Coke bottle is felt to symbolise a diabolical imperialism.

In Iran was is waged on Western civilisation in general and the American way of life in particular with an earnest that has long gone round the bend to madness.

For Germany such an obsession is no more than a historic memory of, say, the much-vaunted arch-enmity between Germany and France.

Unlike in Britain or France th[...] no resistance in Germany to Ame[...]sation of the arts or the cities. US [...] books, TV series and restaurant [...] are welcomed, or at least accepted.

At times one might even wis[...] mans showed more signs of self-[...]dence and independence.

Why not put paid to many of [...] silly, self-important Anglicisms [...] Germans use? It would surely [...] fuddy-duddy and old-fashioned to [...]

American fashions and trends [...] sometimes aped with laughable [...]ness. This trend to imitate the US [...]tainly shows that the American [...] life continues to exercise its fascin[...]

Viewed in this light an in[...] such as the *Amerika-Haus*, as [...] formation centres are known in G[...]ny, is touchingly antiquated.

US cultural diplomacy is centr[...] Hollywood. American myths, [...] and ideals have long become or[...] while US iconography is better [...] than the skylines of German cities.

Even the concept of the Ugly Am[...]can is one that has gained curre[...] Germany via the US motion pictu[...]dustry.

This indeed is what is so [...] about Germany's relationship with A[...]rica. Positive or negative views [...] hardly been able to take shape; [...] have been exported ready-made b[...] US arts business.

So the warning that must be [...] not against anti-Americanism but [...] accepting artistic clichés at face valu[...]

Years ago scholarship-holders [...] asked how they felt about Am[...] Thos who had never been the[...] disparaging; those who had were [...]siastic.

Michael Schw[...]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[...] für Deutschland, 25 July 1[...])

Time for Turkey to come in out of the cold

It is time that official contacts between Turkey and Europe were resumed.

Since the generals swept to power in September 1980, Turkey has virtually had none of the diplomatic support that comes from the visits of statesmen.

It is being cold-shouldered despite the fact that it is a long-standing friend of Bonn, despite its membership of Nato, and despite the fact that its military government is more democratic than some Balkan regimes.

Since the coup, not a single Western European diplomat has visited Ankara apart from a minister of state from the British Foreign Office.

In Germany the domestic debate on Turkey has clearly dissuaded Foreign Minister Genscher the tactician from talking with the present Turkish leaders in public.

The Bonn coalition is looking a little shaky as it is; there is no need, Herr Genscher must surely feel, to make matters worse by giving cause for a dispute over ties with Turkey.

Military government is the red rag to the bull that has prompted this restraint and led to a change in standards and priorities.

Misgivings about military government of any kind are clearly warranted, and since Turkey regards itself as part of Europe, Europe has the right to closely monitor the generals' promise to return to democracy and how fast they act on it.

But Europe ought also to be lending Turkey a hand, and apart from aid commitments that are unquestionably substantial Europe seems for some time have been dragging its feet on this point.

Yet many delegations have visited Turkey, especially from Germany, staying a few days and seeing little but passing judgement on much (and condemning even more) of what they see.

Right-wingers naturally worry about detainees of their political persuasion, while left-wingers are no less keen to ensure that left-wing detainees (and they alone) are well treated.

Seldom have such delegations seen fit to sound a common note and call for the upholding of human rights.

They also seem to have forgotten that before the military coup 30 people a day were being killed in street fighting.

They are certainly reluctant to admit that they themselves did not protest against torture when carried out during the rule of previous civilian governments.

Still less are they anywhere near appreciating that it is hardly up to Germans to give other peoples lessons in democracy, having signally failed to gain democratic rights by themselves.

The Turks can hardly be said to have done so either, but that is hardly the point.

The Turkish armed forces took over power in 1960 and 1971, later returning to barracks in both cases, and they have no intention of holding on to power for good this time either.

This time, however, the generals want to set up a democratic system that is stabler and better suited for Turkish conditions than its predecessors.

Europe is duty bound to give Turkey any help it may need. It is also duty bound to insist on human rights being upheld without fear or favour.

In its policy towards Turkey Europe must also bear in mind that it must provide a counterweight to the United States.

For the Reagan administration Turkey is first and foremost a bulwark against the Soviet Union. At present Washington feels it is of secondary importance whether or not Turkey has a democratic government.

The Soviet Union, having appreciated this weakness, is playing its cards for all they are worth. Moscow, which used to be the main supplier of arms to Turkish terrorists of all hues, is now keen to remain on friendly terms with Ankara.

The Bolshoi Ballet may have been sent on tour to Istanbul but the Soviet view remains unchanged. Moscow speculates on the West being unable to retain its hold on Turkey in the long term.

This, Soviet strategists maintain, is because democracy can time and again be upset in Turkey.

America and Europe, on the other hand, must feel that a military regime cannot be Turkey's salvation. Only a democracy can set the country [...] again.

Yet if the current military governm[...] fails to restore democracy the prosp[...] of democratic renewal may be nipped [...] for decades.

Turkey is partly to blame for the cu[...]rent chill in relations with the res[...] Europe, a state of affairs from wh[...] only Moscow can benefit.

Anti-German sentiment has [...] ever since Turks have been requir[...] apply for a visa to visit the Federal [...]public of Germany and other We[...] countries.

The Turks feel they have a righ[...] visit the West as often as they like an[...] here as long as they like too. [...] also feel entitled to any amoun[...] financial backing.

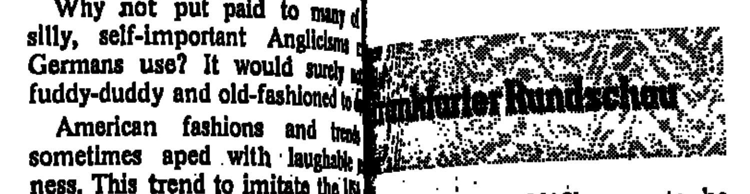
Some even say it is Bonn's [...] that Ali Agca, a Turk, tried [...]

Continued on page 3

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[...]OME AFFAIRS

Bonn decides where the budget axe will fall



[...]s of about DM18bn are to be [...]ade in the 1982 budget. DM9.5bn [...] will be saved in the social security [...] In addition, a tobacco tax in[...] from June 1 next year should [...] in DM1.4bn.

[...]se moves were announced by the [...]cellor, Herr Schmidt, after three [...] of negotiations between the coalition parties, the SPD and the FDP, and [...]-long Cabinet meeting.

[...]ll details have yet to be worked out. [...] will be approved as draft laws by [...] cabinet next month.

[...] was clear that social security would come under the axe. It has grown uncontrollably.

This growth could only be paid for if the economy was growing quickly enough. It isn't.

Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer was right when he said that ever rising taxes and social security contributions had a negative effect on work performance.

The average earner now pays 37 pfennigs in every deutschmark of extra earnings to the state in the form of taxes and social security contributions. And unless something is done soon this will soon rise to 50 pfennigs.

The realisation that demands on the state cannot go up indefinitely if investments are to be maintained was the guiding principle in the budget talks.

Pruning will concentrate on the abuse of unemployment benefits. Here the cabinet thought it intolerable that the take-home pay of a worker was less than the income of a clever operator who knew how to divide his year into a few months of work and lots of leisure time at the expense of the social security system.

The headaches started when it became obvious that eliminating abuses alone cannot put an end to the growing social security sector.

This is particularly evident in the unemployment insurance where the pinch is felt more than anywhere else.

Eliminating abuse here would save DM3bn at best, which is only a fraction of the deficit that now stands at more than DM10bn in the Federal Labour Office budget alone.

The cabinet's answer to the problem can best be summed up as austerity cosmetics.

The Finance Ministry is unwilling to contribute more than about one-third to help plug the Labour Office hole.

Another third is to come from the prevention of abuse and the rest will have to be found by employers and workers: unemployment insurance contributions are to be raised from 3 to 3.5 per cent next year.

True, this will not bite immediately because the social security pensions contributions, which went up in January, are to be reduced from 18.5 to 18 per cent.

But it will not be long before the pensions fund starts feeling the pinch resulting from reduced revenues.

Should this shifting game to on for two years, as is now intended, the deficit in the pensions fund will be around DM7bn.

This spells the end of improved pensions as announced before the 1980 election. It also means that increased contributions are already programmed for the 1980s.

There is no sign of fairness in all this manipulation. But there will be a bit in changes to pension privileges now enjoyed by people in the mining sector which account for a DM9bn drain on the budget.

The new budget would provide for special pensions only for miners who actually work underground. The others would be entitled to regular pensions only.

The Bonn politicians are also trying to come up with a fairer distribution of child allowances.

The idea is that big earners should get none at all — but the details here are still to be worked out.

Gerda Strack

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1981)

Continued from page 2

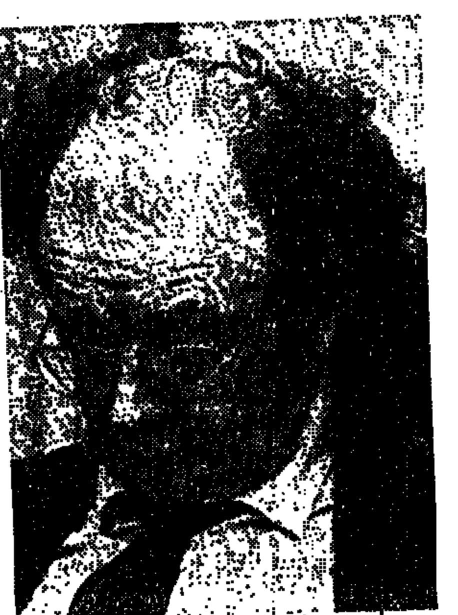
[...]ate the Pope. It is widely felt in [...] that the German authorities did [...]ct on tips that he was in hiding in [...]many.

[...] is high time we put paid to the [...] of official contacts between Europe [...] Turkey. Europe must surely find it [...]ier to talk with Turkey now.

General Kenan Evren, the chairman [...] the National Security Council, seems [...]stined to become the next democrati[...] elected, Turkish head of state.

Heiko Flottau

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 July 1981)



Karl-Heinz Hansen (Photo: dpa)

Expulsion of rebel from SPD upheld

The Arbitration Committee of the Lower Rhine district SPD has upheld the expulsion from the party of Karl-Heinz Hansen.

Hansen, a Bonn MP since 1969 and member of the Bundestag Defence and Foreign Affairs Committees, has been under fire for his opposition to the Nato decision to boost the medium range missile potential in Europe and for his outspoken criticism of the Chancellor.

The committee ruled that he had caused grave harm to the SPD by "deliberately violating the important principle of party solidarity."

Hansen's first "violation" occurred in February when he lambasted the Chancellor in an article in the magazine *Konkret* for permitting the supply of submarines to Chile and called the whole thing "a political disgrace."

The expulsion decision was further buttressed by Hansen's statement in early May to the effect that the Nato decision was "a sort of secret diplomacy directed against our own people."

The committee decided that this was clearly directed against the government under Helmut Schmidt and that it was a "deliberate insult" that could lead the public to believe that SPD policy was directed against the nation's interests.

The arbitration committee stressed that the ruling must not be understood as a ban on the public debate and criticism of the Social-Liberal government policy.

But it also emphasised that the manner in which Hansen acted lacked respect for those who hold different views and that it was "driving a wedge in the party."

The wedge is already in evidence. Hansen, who describes himself as a "good Social Democrat who steadfastly sticks to the resolutions passed at party congresses and adheres to the basic principles of his party", refuses to give in.

He now wants to take the matter before the National Arbitration Committee and, if necessary, to the Constitutional Court.

There is a tide of letters of sympathy inundating Hansen's Bonn office, mostly from the Young Socialists and the SPD rank and file.

Ada Brandes

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 26 July 1981)

Newspaper row erupts into peace

[...] compromise has been reached in a [...]row between the Bavarian Prime [...]ister, Franz Josef Strauss, and his [...]cation Minister, Hans Maier.

The row involved two Munich news[...]pers and at one stage Herr Maier [...]atened to resign from the Christian [...]al Union.

The papers are the CSU-owned [...]ernkurier and an independent con[...]ative daily, *Münchner Merkur*.

The *Merkur* basically supports the [...], but has recently allowed itself a [...]e criticism.

This liberty prompted the *Bayernkurier* to attack the *Merkur*.

[...]hen Herr Maier, a professor of political science, stepped in. He called the [...]k "a mistake worse than a crime."

[...]rauss then warned that "the limit of [...] can be tolerated has been reached."

The way the CSU sees it, it is not to[...]ble for the *Münchner Merkur*, which [...] always been sympathetic to the [...], to resort to "vicious pinpricks, per[...]al defamation and adventurist fabri[...]tions."

[...]aier sees a hidden threat in the full [...] *Bayernkurier* article ("Unless you [...] the line you'll sink").

[...]n the regular column he writes for [...] *Münchner Merkur* he asked his fel[...] CSU members: "Do we really want [...]tors-in-chief who have no opinion of [...]ir own and who are no more than [...]king mediation committees?"

[...] would be unacceptable to even con[...]plate a *Gleichschaltung* of the press. [...] party that did this would certainly no [...]ger have me as a member."

[...]aier, who is also under fire from the [...]position, which accuses him of having "snooped" on students, closed his article with words that are typical of people who write letters to the editor: "There are a lot of people who think the way I do."

The *Bayernkurier* attack on the *Münchner Merkur* not only angered the latter's 81-year-old publisher Felix Buttersach ("It has all criteria of personal defamation") and Bavaria's SPD but has also split the CSU in two camps.



Hans Maier (Photo: Sven Simon)

While CSU Secretary-General Edmund Stoiber said of Maier that he had a "warped idea of freedom of opinion" and that he "lacked solidarity", a recent issue of the *Münchner Merkur* carried an article by the CSU Member of Parliament Gustav Matschel in which the author says that the *Bayernkurier* has "gone beyond the bounds of journalistic fairplay."

He said that the party paper's article was "not only harmful but was not even not even intelligent."

He concluded that the CSU media policy had suffered a setback from which it will take years to recover.

Herr Maier and Herr Strauss, however, managed to reach a compromise to keep the peace during a special 90-minute meeting.

Fearing that Strauss might use his mouthpiece to exert pressure on the Bavarian press, several provincial newspapers have taken up defensive positions.

The *Nürnberger Zeitung* expressed fears that the days of coddling were over for good and that the CSU was about to use the big club.

Regensburg's *Mittelbayerische Zeitung* wrote angrily: "Even the omnipotence of a party as powerful as the CSU is no excuse for attempts to muzzle a major newspaper."

The *Bayernkurier*, on the other hand, remains militant and on the offensive. Wrote editor-in-chief Wilfried Scharnagl in a recent issue: "I still have a column or two available."

Karl Stankiewitz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 22 July 1981)

■ POLITICS

Schmidt convinced his policies have the real grassroots support

The Chancellor, Herr Schmidt, maintains that his policies would win a clear backing in the SPD if grassroots views were articulated.

He is convinced that many delegates at party congresses who claim to be rank and file members are not.

When he threatened to resign if the Nato double decision on arms-and-negotiation were not accepted, it was with the confidence that grassroots opinion in favour of the decision would work its way up through the party.

The SPD is no monolith. That is common knowledge. There are opposing views among the big three, Herbert Wehner, Willy Brandt, and Schmidt, collectively known as The Troika.

But they reconcile differences in the interests of party unity.

The Chancellor is convinced that he would not have to struggle for a majority within the party if he could deal directly with the grassroots.

It is this conviction that has prompted him to toy with the idea of summoning the SPD in his Hamburg constituency to a general meeting or indeed — but this was never meant quite seriously — of rallying the entire Hamburg SPD in the city's biggest stadium.

Schmidt is convinced that he has the backing of the true grassroots.

His idea is to rally the support of the silent majority by calling on it to speak up.

He likes to make use of two closely connected organisations that can be taken as the true voice of the grassroots: the trade unions and the Social Democratic Working Party on Labour Issues (AfA).

Schmidt has always made a point of discussing and coordinating his policies with the trade unions.

And his prospects of success are excellent, despite the fact that the unions reject his latest decision on labour participation in industrial management and that unionists will fight any cutbacks in the social security system.

Though non-partisan, the trade unions and the AfA act as a link between the SPD and the working class and are part of the Chancellor's arsenal.

So it is not surprising that a working-class area like western Westphalia ranks among Schmidt's staunchest supporters in the party.

Schmidt can count on a large majority in the Bundestag. MPs are better equipped to understand political realities than those delegates to congresses who are semi-informed and ideology-bound.

The SPD in Parliament has a strong wing of down-to-earth realists whose only interest is to get on with the job rather than theorise.

Although the SPD left wing in the Bundestag consists of about 60 MPs, only 30 or so really count. And the hard core is barely a dozen.

So the Chancellor can depend on his party in Parliament — especially in view of the fact that Floor Leader Herbert Wehner knows how to keep his MPs in line.

But party power cannot be measured in numbers. Willy Brandt, for example, has a great following in the SPD working class.

Whether this gives him any strong base of power could only be established if he and the Chancellor were to have a tug of war.

The same goes for the SPD in Parliament, which supports the Chancellor, although this must not be construed as meaning that it opposes Brandt.

And even in the National Executive Committee, Schmidt has repeatedly managed to rally majorities of 90 per cent or more, supported rather than opposed by Brandt.

The parliamentary party and the executive committee have always supported Schmidt on the missile modernisation issue.

Had Brandt steered a collision course with Schmidt, there would be a great many more opponents of the missile decision in the executive committee of 40.

Brandt acts as a catalyst within the party, bringing opposing camps together rather than separating them.

For instance, he is highly regarded among members of the SPD Women's Movement; he is still a dialogue partner for the Young Socialists (which can no longer be said of Schmidt); and he finds it easier than Schmidt to get thro[ugh to] the rebellious Baden-Württemberg [...]

Brandt is closer to the party [than] Schmidt. He finds it easier to [get] through to the first level of the party [es]tablishment as well.

It is impossible to imagine [what] would happen if they had to vie [with] each other in wooing each indiv[idual] party member.

But this will not happen and th[erein] lies the strength of this party th[at has] been in existence for more than [...] years.

It is no secret that the troika [at the] head of the SPD has been hav[ing] differences for years. Yet these [differ]ences have always been reconciled.

A short while ago, the Chan[cellor] telephoned Brandt in connectio[n with] the party chairman's visit to [...] saying: "What's the matter? I hear[d you were] annoyed about something."

The fact is that Brandt likes [to go] further than the government in his [for]eign policy forays. This occasi[onally] leads to friction.

Wehner makes a point of deci[ding] entirely on his own when and on [which] issue he wants to speak his mind.

The three men at the top have [total]ly different personalities and [back]grounds.

So it follows that they shouldn't [see] eye-to-eye on a number of imp[ortant] policy matters.

But until there is proof to the [con]trary, it must be taken for granted [that] neither Brandt nor Wehner want[s the] Chancellor to be toppled for, unlik[e] 1974, this would mean the end of [the] Social Democrats in government.

So solidarity remains. When it c[omes] to the crunch, the troika always [pulls] the cart towards the common goal.

Gottfried Ca[...]
(Die Welt, 23 July [1981])

Wehner stays at the helm in spite of the storms

Herbert Wehner, the SPD floor leader for 12 years, was the man who guided the transformation of the party into a populist movement.

The craggy face of Wehner, who is now 75, bears the marks of the many conflicts, challenges and storms.

He has had political disappointment and health problems, but he has never been tempted to throw in the towel.

Speculation about his resignation has been rampant for years, but he has made it quite clear that he will "pull the cart as long as the cart agrees to being pulled."

No matter how one feels about him, it is almost impossible to imagine a Bundestag without him. And whenever he takes the floor the usually empty Parliament is filled.

Yet he has never been a great orator, and his convoluted sentences bear witness to a mind that sees a great many facets and is subject to deep emotions.

And whenever his temper runs away with him — something he rarely leaves to chance — he provides the parliamentary drama many people look for.

But Wehner's explosiveness and his cynicism together with his whiplashings are not so much aimed at day-to-day politics as at an opponent whom he feels he must hit on moral issues.

Only somebody who has for decades been a butt and a victim of underhand attacks because of his communist past can lash out like this.

Wehner, who was in the resistance during the Third Reich, still smarts under the injustice of not being forgiven his communist past while those who were members of the Nazi party have long been exonerated.

Wehner himself has never hidden his past. He has never tried to hide the fact that, while a member of the pre-1933 Saxon parliament, he lambasted both the Nazis and the Social Democrats.

Nor has he ever tried to cover up for the fact that, after Hitler came to power, he worked underground for the Communists and maintained close contact with men like Pieck and Ulbricht while living in Moscow's Lux Hotel.

But even before war's end, when he came to know Stalin's terror and informer regime, he started to break with the Communists. And in 1946, on his return to Germany from Sweden, he realised that his place was in the West and in Germany, and he joined the SPD.

In a way, those years were formative for Herbert Wehner. They gave him a first-hand insight into short-term tactics and long-term strategies, conspiracy and dogmatism and, naturally, many an abyss of human depravity.

Wehner, who has been a Bundestag member without a break since 1949, has always been deeply involved with and committed to the problems of the two Germanies.

His rise within the SPD was programmed — so much so that Carlo Schmid wrote in his memoirs that even in the 1950s "nothing could be attempted within the party without Herbert Wehner — something which to traditionalists could well have appeared as a break with the party's 100-year-old tradition."

At the 1959 Godesberg Party Congress Wehner said he considered himself "once burned".

Quoting Kurt Schumacher, he said that Marxist ideology was only one of many pillars of Social Democratic programmes enjoying equal importance as philosophical and ethical tenets and, indeed, the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.

It was Wehner who anticipated and prepared the transformation of the SPD into a populist party and it was he who was instrumental in paving the way for the Grand Coalition and the gradual transition from CDU government to a Social-Liberal coalition.

Although he was never interested in any high government office, he accepted the post of minister for intra-German affairs during the 1966-69 Grand Coalition.

That the CDU accepted him in this Cabinet post must have been as much of a source of satisfaction for him as it was for Franz Josef Strauss to have been declared "worthy of a ministerial post" by the SPD after he had had to resign over the *Spiegel* affair.

Wehner has been the SPD floor leader for the past 12 years; and during all this time he has been a shining example of devotion to duty to his younger fellow-MPs.

With all his instinct for political power and the ways and means of getting it and holding onto it he does not consider himself as the vaunted "taskmaster" and whip who ensures that [the] Chancellor gets the majority he needs.

Instead, he has been the man to [show] chancellors how far they can go in sa[cri]ficing Social Democratic ideas to the [ex]igencies of keeping a coalition g[oing]. And it was Wehner who promp[ted] Brandt when he was Chancellor to re[sign] over the Guillaume affair.

Wehner has remained an enigma [to] many of his close party friends and [bio]graphers.

In any event, it is obvious that m[uch] of that which makes him tick is gov[ern]ed by the memories of his early years.

To know that his actual home [is in] the other Germany (he comes f[rom] Dresden, now in the GDR) has m[ade] the concept of *one* German nation [the] focal point of his being and actions.

This has led to a number of solo [for]ays in matters of *Ostpolitik* and [has] earned him considerable criticism for [the] alleged overtaxing of the Berlin A[gree]ment.

All this demonstrates the extent [to] which Wehner sticks to his convic[tions] even if this means fighting it out [with] his fellow party members.

He has always been a loner who [has] been known to isolate himself and [who] in his private life has always be[en a] modest family man.

He abhors the wheeler-dealing of ["you] rub my back, I'll rub yours" — and [not] only because of the revulsion [it] creates among the electorate.

There is yet another difficult-to-[un]derstand trait of a man who was an [en]thusiastic follower of Marxist ideology.

In the late 1960s he confessed [that] "no man can manage without chur[ch in] the long run."

Klaus-Dietrich Gr[...]
(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 July [1981])

[T]HE LAW

Constitutional Court alters principle on 'guilty party' in divorce

[Af]ter three major rulings last year on [d]ivorce law reform the Constitutio[nal] Court seems, in a fourth, to have [opted] for a partial return to the prin[ciple] of penalising the guilty party.

[In e]ach case the Karlsruhe court has [sought] to ease the teething troubles of [the ne]w Divorce Act.

[Whi]le reaffirming the essentials of [di]vorce law reform it has imposed [sen]sible restrictions at a number of [sore] spots.

[The r]estrictions, painful in their impact [on th]e idea behind the new Act, amount to case law rulings along "yes, but" lines.

Is divorce to be granted when a marriage is felt to have broken down irreparably? Yes, but not when taken to extremes.

Should pension rights accrued during marriage be shared fairly between the two parties? Yes, but not if it means making an award from which neither is likely to benefit.

Ought a decree to be granted automatically after separation for a certain length of time? Yes, but not at a time that is totally unsatisfactory, even if that should mean no for good.

This was the gist of the three 1980 rulings; the latest, given at the end of July this year, can be expressed in similar terms.

Should alimony be awarded regardless who may be considered to have been the guilty party? Yes, but not in the case of clear and serious misbehaviour by one or other of the parties.

The miscreant will not even be awarded alimony if he or she retains custody over children born during the marriage.

The obvious objection is that the parent who is awarded custody must either go out to work or live on the allowance awarded for the child's upkeep and upbringing, so the child will be the loser.

The court's rejoinder is that a husband or wife who has been guilty of such serious misbehaviour will not as a rule be a suitable person to bring up a child.

In other words, someone who, to quote the ruling, deserts his or her marital partner without good cause, breaks out of the marriage or takes a new partner against the other's will, will be awarded neither alimony nor, as a rule, custody over the children.

Conversely, a divorcee who is not found guilty of misbehaviour will be entitled to the full social status he or she could have expected if the marriage had remained intact.

The ruling expressly states that in circumstances such as these the innocent party will be entitled to alimony and a share of accrued pension and other rights.

What is more, this entitlement will continue to apply even if the innocent party worked during the marriage, forewent no prospects of promotion during the marriage and could live satisfactorily on his or her individual earnings.

Alimony entitlement will in this case be based solely on the fact that the other party earns a higher income.

So it cannot be denied that good behaviour is to be rewarded and bad behaviour to be penalised.

Does this not amount to a return to the guilt principle? The answer can only be that it will depend on the circumstances.

The new ruling may apply to particularly serious cases only or it may mark a first step in the direction of a reversion to the idea of the guilty party.

The Constitutional Court has repeatedly called on the Bundestag to amend



the Act to enable the judges to decide more flexibly and in keeping with the individual circumstances.

Initial amendments have already reached committee stage. Others are sure to follow.

Every ruling so far by the Karlsruhe Constitutional Court judges on the law as it stands has widened the leeway of divorce court judges.

What constitutes clear misbehaviour? What is a decree at a totally unsatisfactory juncture? What is a case of special hardship?

The way courts rule on these turns of phrase used by the Constitutional Court will inevitably differ from bench to bench in the years to come.

Time alone will tell which way the trend turns.

Eva Marie von Münch
(Die Zeit, 24 July 1981)

A bowl full of caviar

[Ar]e women like caviar, useless yet [w]underbar? A Stuttgart lawyer has [sued] a Munich owner of a chain of res[taur]ants for defamation of character, [but] so far she has failed on a technical[ity].

[Th]e technicality that decided a Mu[nich] court to rule her suit inadmissible [was] that women did not constitute a [clea]rly defined social group.

What then can possibly be said to be [suc]h a group, you may wonder. So does [th]e lawyer, Uta Wagner. She has appealed [to] a higher court.

The statement to which she took [obj]ection was the quotation of the [...]h in the March issue of *Gut Spei[sen u]nd Reisen,* a magazine published [by t]he Wienerwald chain of barbecue [chic]ken restaurants.

[She] resented being compared with ca[viar] in this way and preferred charges [again]st Friedrich Jahn, the restaurateur, [and] the staff of his house magazine.

[She] felt her honour as a woman had [been] insulted by this comparison with ["use]less" caviar, she said.

The Munich court ruled against her [beca]use charges were only allowed when [a de]rogatory remark in general terms [refer]red to a clearly defined social group. [Wo]men were not such a group.

[Fr]au Wagner took a dim view of this [lega]l opinion and lodged an appeal. Per[sona]l and social prejudice are involved, [she] is convinced.

[Stu]dent lawyers, medical practitioners [an]d judges themselves are all clearly [defi]ned social groups, to judge by past [case]s. Why not women?

[Do]es their honour not deserve such [prot]ection as the law can afford? Is this [not] a case in which the court could have [stru]ck a blow for equal rights?

[O]ught women not to merit as much [hon]our and dignity as doctors or the [bran]ch? Especially as the Wienerwald in[cident] is by no means an isolated instance? Frau Wagner claims, with some justi[fica]tion, that Wienerwald advertising is [con]sistently disparaging of the female [...]

She merely chose the caviare insult [be]cause it was a clear insult and most [eas]ily pigeonholed in a category for [whi]ch there were well-established legal [prec]edents.

It remains to be seen whether or not [th]e court of appeal now rules that [wo]man are a clear and distinct social [gro]up and allows the case to continue.

Susan Leplorz
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 July 1981)

Sharp reaction to overturned rape conviction

The Supreme Court has overturned a conviction against a housepainter who was alleged to have raped a girl apprentice.

According to the evidence, the apprentice had allowed herself to be raped because she felt it would have been pointless to resist.

The painter had pushed her into a storeroom and stood before the door.

In its judgment, the Supreme Court ruled that the painter could not be said to have used force. The girl could have called for help, it said.

The ruling has, not surprisingly, drawn strong criticism from women's groups.

Called for their views on the subject, women who deal most frequently with rape cases first ask: "How did you come by our phone number?"

Only then do they voice their views on the case, and they are invariably unfavourable to the bench.

Staff at the *Frauenhaus* in Porz, near Cologne, take a dim view of the ruling. So do their counterparts at Munich's *Frauencafé* and the rape emergency switchboards in Berlin and Mainz.

Yet they fail to sound the note of spontaneous protest that might have been expected in view of the court's considered opinion.

It is that force cannot be said to have been used when a man takes a woman to an out-of-the-way place where she cannot expect help so fails to offer resistance.

Locking a woman in or restricting her freedom of movement in a comparable manner need not necessarily be a use of force either.

It took a clearer reference to the ruling in question to elicit the expected response from the women at the other end of the line.

Gerti in Berlin said: "Judges and police have exactly the same mentality as rapists."

Karin in Cologne said: "That is the sexuality of male domination. When a woman says no she doesn't necessarily mean it, they imply."

Uschi in Munich said: "Double standards again! How often are we told in the courtroom that women must not offer resistance; they must think first and foremost in terms of saving their lives.

"On no account must they provoke the rapist. Yet a woman who doesn't scream is promptly felt to have wanted to have intercourse."

The ruling comes as no surprise to Gerti. It's always the same story, she says. There is always the suggestion that it is physically impossible to have intercourse with a woman who doesn't want.

In other words, a woman who is raped must, by the same token, have been willing.

"There was a case here in Berlin where a 40-year-old woman was virtually asked what she expected at her time of life," Gerti says.

This may or may not be a slight exaggeration; it is certainly very much in keeping with German court rulings on rape.

In 1965 the Supreme Court ruled that it was not rape "when the man uses force to perform indecent acts on the woman to stimulate a state of sexual excitement in which he hopes she will yield of her own free will."

The woman must also clearly indicate, throughout the act of intercourse, that she does not want to have sex with the man.

There is a Latin term meaning the use of force against a woman who is playing hard to get. The courts in no way equate it with rape.

Rape is similarly felt not to have occurred when the man assumes that the woman, who has abandoned overt resistance, is in fact a consenting party.

"A woman who is asked in the dock whether she was not excited and whether she did not enjoy it is raped a second time in court," says Gerti.

The woman is usually up against it in a rape case because in seven cases out of 10 the alleged rapist is a man she knows.

The case thus runs counter to the classical assumption, as sociologist Ulrike Teubner puts it.

Public opinion is for the most part loaded against the woman too, according to a poll by sociologist Kurt Weis.

He found that 39 per cent of people he questioned felt the woman was merely trying to avenge herself on the man, 45 per cent felt the woman who preferred rape charges was merely trying to justify what she had done in the eyes of parents, friends or her husband and 31 per cent felt the woman was just being self-important.

Yet the use of force as defined in rape cases does indeed differ from the Supreme Court's definition in other instances.

When a motor vehicle blocks the public highway it is, according to the Supreme Court, using force.

When protesters stage a sit-in outside a barracks and try to stop tanks from driving out by sitting in their path this too is a use of force.

Yet locking a woman in is not. The Supreme Court in Karlsruhe has only just ruled that it is not.

H.-H. Holzamer
(Die Welt, 25 July 1981)

■ TRADE

Political considerations behind East-West deals



The whole question of trade between East and West has again come under focus because of President Reagan's opposition to the Europe-Soviet gas-for-pipes deal.

A little over a year ago, the arguments were discussed in detail when Jimmy Carter was President against the backdrop of the Afghanistan invasion.

Apart from Poland's troubles, there has been little change in economic relations between East and West since.

In fact, trade between the two has stopped growing. West Germany's trade with Comecon countries has actually dropped.

The East Bloc's drive to reduce its trade deficit with the West, which was ushered in in the mid-1970s, continues, according to the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

This has been further aggravated by the slower economic growth in both East and West.

Yet there has been some progress in economic cooperation as laid down in the CSCE Final Act.

But this is still being hampered by difficulties in establishing companies in the East, in direct contacts between companies in both camps and in obtaining information. The same applies to the East Bloc's preference for barter deals.

All this makes such major barter deals as the envisaged European-Soviet natural gas agreement even more spectacular.

There is a political dimension to deals of this nature because they hinge on mammoth credits guaranteed by the state. They also go hand in hand with the hope of opening up major energy and raw materials sources that would relieve the global energy balance and make the East Bloc a responsible party in the present exchange, thus defusing the political situation.

It remains to be seen whether the concepts on the two sides of the Atlantic can be reconciled. Bonn, buttressed by sensible business representatives, has made it clear that it sees no danger of excessive dependence on the Soviet Union and that it is prepared to cooperate in redrafting the list of strategically important goods.

But it is still unclear whether the United States wants to use foreign trade as an instrument of foreign policy.

In any event, as far back as last year Washington said it wanted the state-owned Hermes Insurance Corporation to restrict its export guarantees for trade with the East Bloc — both the range of goods and the amounts involved.

But all proposals that go beyond crisis response should be rejected by Germany and the Europeans.

Eberhard Wisdorff

(Handelsblatt, 24 July 1981)



Western banks give Poland crucial breathing space

The decision by several Western banks to grant a moratorium over several years for the repayment of the principal on loans to Poland is bound to be a great help.

Though the latest party congress in Warsaw provided the basis for a continued reform course in Poland, the democratisation process stands and falls with economic recovery.

Unfortunately, the economic situation is extremely precarious. Poland's production and exports dropped by 18 per cent in the first six months of this year.

The decline in coal production was as high as 20 per cent, which is particularly grave as it is one of the main [...] exchange earners.

The rector of the Economics A[...] in Wroclaw told the congress: "[...] continue along present lines we [...] soon find ourselves without an e[...] to reform."

If the banks had not granted the [...]ratorium the Warsaw government [...] have had to find about DM1[...] year for repayments of princip[...] interest.

The weakened economy could [...] hope to raise this amount. What [...]

Continued on page 7

Dispute over terms holds up flow of Russian gas

The final negotiations between the Soviet Union and a European consortium for the biggest natural gas deal ever should actually have begun in March.

But high interest rates and the approval by the Norwegian Parliament of a new natural gas contract with a number of European countries put a spanner in the works.

Under the European-Soviet deal, the Soviets are to provide an annual 40bn cubic metres of gas, starting from the mid-1980s, in return for 6m tons of West European pipes, of which 3m tons are to be provided by Mannesmann. (What adds piquancy to the deal is the fact that the Soviet Union is the world's biggest pipe producer.)

Financing is to be done through a DM10bn credit to be granted by a consortium of German banks.

But the Russian are not prepared to pay more than 7.75 per cent interest on the credit.

The German bankers are not prepared to give special terms to the Soviet Union. So if Moscow is to save face in the fourth "gas for pipes" deal (the other three were concluded in 1970, 1972 and 1974 and account for the supply of 12bn cubic metres of gas a year) it would officially pay 7.75 per cent interest and would make up the difference between this and market rates from earnings resulting from the deal.

But the high interest rate is not the main obstacle. This hurdle could be taken relatively easily through interest rate adjustment clauses in the contract — especially in view of the fact that such long-term deals that extend into the next century usually provide for review negotiations.

The deal bugbear is the gas deal with Norway that provides for the supply of 5.5bn cubic metres a year, starting from 1990. The first shipment would be provided via a new pipeline to be installed at a cost of about DM5bn with work starting in 1986.

The European gas companies were essentially guided by supply considerations in the Norwegian deal: North Sea gas is seen as a safe supply.

Also, once the pipeline to the Con-



tinent has been laid it could also be used for gas from fields north of the 62nd parallel.

Bonn's plans to replace oil by gas would have to be shelved.

A further delay of the fourth gas-for-pipes deal with the Soviets would provide additional ammunition for those who want to prevent the deal. This applies particularly to the Reagan Administration — but not a single one of the parties represented in the Bundestag.

Washington argues that the Soviet gas would expose Western Europe to political blackmail in view of the fact that the new contract would make the German has companies dependent in the Russians for 30 per cent of their supplies (today 17 per cent).

Another major argument is that the earnings from the deal would enable the Russians to build up their strategic potential still further.

The first argument overlooks two facts: the additional supply of 12bn cubic metres makes up for the 7bn cubic metres which Iran was supposed to have provided through a pipeline via the Soviet Union. No objections to this deal were raised in Germany.

In addition, the new deal would supplement quotas that will be discontinued on the expiry of the old contracts.

Another thing that is being overlooked is the fact that the Soviets are about to restructure their primary energy policy by replacing oil exports by gas exports.

In other words, oil shipments from the Soviet Union will be diminishing in the years ahead. Veba has already cancelled the import of 2m tons of Soviet oil.

The dependence on the Soviet Union for the enrichment of uranium, which now accounts for 50 per cent and to which no objection has ever been made, will be reduced once new capacities are put into operation by Euratom.

The supply of the private sector would remain unaffected even if the Russian were to turn off the tap from one day to the next because 83 per cent of Germany's gas still comes from Western Europe (Norway 16 per cent, Ho[...]land 37 per cent; domestic product[...] 30 per cent).

Thus the Soviet gas share in our [...]mary energy supply amounts to [...] than 5.5 per cent — far from enough [...] make us vulnerable to blackmail.

Moreover, the proportion of Soviet [...] would go down fairly soon becaus[...] share of Norwegian gas would incre[...]

Known deposits in the Norw[...] North Sea alone have doubled i[...] past 18 months, and experts are c[...] that this trend will continue.

The argument that Western Eu[...] would be boosting Moscow's str[...] potential through the gas deal, i[...] wrong so far as foreign exchange e[...]ings are concerned.

The deal for 40bn cubic metres [...] would earn the Soviets some DM[...] annually. But this amount would b[...] have to be used pay for the 5,0[...] pipeline from north-western Sibe[...] Europe for which they need [...] DM10bn German credit since the [...] gas against hard currency will not [...] flowing until the mid-1980s.

Those who want to deprive the S[...] Union of foreign exchange for po[...] and strategic considerations would [...] to oppose all trade with the East Bl[...] be consistent.

Yet the OECD countries want t[...] velop this trade still further.

The alternative in planning [...] supplies can therefore be summed [...] increasing the share of Soviet ga[...] the current 3 per cent to 5.5 per c[...] total energy requirements or p[...] ing an 80 per cent dependence o[...] Opec powder keg.

Hans Bau[...]

(Die Welt, 21 Jul[...])

[FI]NANCE

Ottawa summit strengthens Schmidt's hand for domestic economising

[...] Ottawa summit conference has [str]engthened Chancellor Schmidt's [...] for the cuts that will have to be [...] in the Bonn budget for 1982.

[Amer]ican interest rates are not to [...] down, and this, plus the fact that [...]tions involved at Ottawa have [...]ged to cut budget deficits and [...] spending from consumption to in[vestme]nt, has given Schmidt several [...] cards.

It is not surprising that he came [...] "enriched," as he told a Press [confere]nce.

[Hav]ing these cards will make it easier [for h]im to halt the departure from fiscal [comm]on sense though the operation is [...] to be painful.

[Am]erica's high interest rates, which [...] scapegoat for all sorts of ills, have [...] strain on money markets and forc[ed B]onn to strongly resist running up [...] debts.

[Am]erican interest rates are not likely [...] down soon. This will only happen [...] America's inflation rate shows [...] of falling.

While President Reagan listened to [Eur]opean complaints over the erratic [inter]est rate and exchange rate fluctua[tion]s, Federal Reserve Board Chairman [Pau]l A. Volcker told the US Senate that [he] would keep his foot on the brakes.

[In] fact, the Federal Reserve Bank was [...] regretting easing up prematurely in [the a]utumn of 1980.

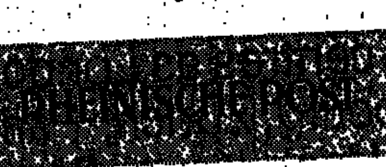
[Ha]d it not done so, interest rates [woul]d probably have gone down by now.

[Ho]wever, they would be even higher [desp]ite the fact that the prime rate al[...] stands at 21.5 per cent) if it were [not] for the influx of European capital [which m]akes for a certain liquidity.

[Mu]ch of this capital comes from [Franc]e, a fact which has embittered Pre[siden]t Mitterrand and was probably at [the r]oot of his harsh criticism.

[Th]e passage in the closing communi[qué] that refers to the necessity of em[pha]sising productive and innovative in[vestm]ents in national budgets clearly [bears] Helmut Schmidt's handwriting.

[Bu]t it also coincides with President [Reag]an's intentions. The difference is [that] he has already done much, while [the] Chancellor still has it before him.



In any event, Schmidt's blueprint is completed though he has so far kept it to himself.

It is pretty safe to assume that both the Chancellor and his finance minister are determined to put the emphasis on paring down expenditure by doing away with certain subsidies and tax advantages rather than resorting to direct tax increases. This makes it unlikely that the tax on oil will be raised.

The figures mentioned in Ottawa amounted to cuts totalling well over DM18bn.

But the question is where to start paring which, incidentally, must not be done by Bonn alone but also by the *Länder* and the municipalities.

Considering that 38.5 per cent of Germany's GNP already goes into taxes and various social security contributions, it is obvious that there is little scope here.

Trade Union Federation Chairman Heinz Oskar Vetter should think twice before suggesting higher tax for the self-employed. In any event, such a suggestion would be likely to fall on deaf ears in Bonn, which works on the assumption that the unions will cooperate in the new austerity programme.

But this pressupposes that the paring knife is applied evenly and without sparing the civil service.

More taxation means more moonlighting, more tax evasion and less efficient workers.

Labour Minister Ehrenberg would therefore be well advised to reconsider his initial suggestion that unemployment insurance contributions be upped by half a per cent.

It can be taken as a foregone conclusion that such a suggestion will not be taken up.

The more obvious approach would be to do away with a wide range of subsidies and tax relief and to cut down on those social security benefits that are actually antisocial because they encourage excesses.

There are 40 different flat-rate deductions in our income-tax system and 127 other relief items for businesses and individuals, accounting for a whacking DM30bn.

On top of this, there are 116 types of direct subsidies which account for another DM13bn. One of them is the pointless relief airlines and shipping enjoy on fuel taxes.

Child allowances (which should remain essentially unchanged but lapse when the child reaches the age of majority) devour another DM19bn a year.

Fiscal relief in the tax returns of couples is likely to get away unscathed.

But there is some scope for cutbacks in the spending of the Federal Labour Office.

This could include the money that goes down the drain due to provisions governing the temporary employment of wives during the season, as in the catering business; the practice of dismissing staff on reaching the age of 59 at the expense of the social security pensions system; and the miners' insurance that should apply only to those who actually work underground.

The social security system devours some DM86bn, about one-third of government spending. So it cannot be immune to cutbacks.

This applies even more to the special civil service privileges and to the DM44bn defence budget — especially in view of the fact that no treaty or agreement stipulates a three per cent annual increase.

Anybody who in today's situation sets out to cut spending and put the budget on a sound footing must not be deterred by a forest of taboos.

Franz Thoma

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 July 1981)

Agriculture escapes EEC cutback

The EEC budget has been cut by about DM1.5bn from the original DM56.8bn.

Regional and social expenditures come off worst, which is a blow because of unemployment in all member nations.

In contrast, the biggest money guzzler, agriculture, is untouched.

Britain, among others, had hoped to receive a several-million-deutschemark booster shot for its structurally weak economy.

The cutbacks are a victory for Bonn, which has long wanted to pare down the Community budget.

Though the finance ministers are still withholding approval of the additional billion asked by France, that country's dogged pursuit of its demands gives a foretaste of the resistance Bonn's envisaged agricultural reform will continue to meet with.

As long as President Mitterrand remains determined to keep the farmers on his side Europe will continue to economise in the wrong places.

Bettina Wieselmann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 July 1981)

Continued from page 6

[...] needs is a breathing space in which [to im]plement its economic reforms.

[Th]e current debt is the result of [tryin]g to develop the export industry [with] heavy borrowing in the West [durin]g the Gierek era. The project failed [due] to poor planning.

[Po]land's economy must be restruc[ture]d and the new government has al[read]y begun.

[Ma]ny investments have already been [stop]ped and a three-year rehabilitation [...] drafted.

[Giv]en the support of the independent [Soli]darity trade union, this could even[tuall]y put the Polish economy back on [an ev]en keel.

Hans-Georg Glaser

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 24 July 1981)

Bundesbank adamant: money controls are to stay

Money will remain tight and expensive for the rest of the year, says the Bundesbank.

Its latest report, undaunted by criticism from the Ottawa summit and the trade unions, says that because of inflation, money supply during the second half of the year should increase by no more than 4 or 5 per cent.

This was in line with keeping the 1981 monetary growth target at between 4 and 7 per cent.

The Bundesbank stresses its determination to combat both home-made and imported inflation in order to restore confidence in the buying power of the deutschemark, both at home and abroad.

Inflation rate has inevitably risen, it says. Instead of the anticipated 3.5 to 4 per cent, domestic goods are likely to go up by 4 per cent in during the year.

As a result of the heavy deutschemark depreciation against the dollar, prices of imported goods and production costs have risen more than anticipated.

The money supply went up by 5 per cent in May and June and the Bundesbank rejects the accusation that its monetary policy is entirely foreign trade oriented.

Moreover, it stresses that the present policy is not excessively restrictive. Banks have received a liquidity boost worth billions as a result of the support action for the French franc.

The Bundesbank is more optimistic than before on economic developments in this country because production has been maintained.

According to the report, the GNP in the first quarter of the year was DM380bn, 0.5 per cent higher than in the same period in 1980.

This means a GNP rise of just under 3 per cent against last year. But, adjusted for inflation, there has been a 2 per cent drop.

The Bundesbank now pins its hopes on rising production.

Output in May reached the previous year's level, after lagged behind in the first four months of the year.

Overall production, including the construction industry, in the first five months of 1981 was 3 per cent below the previous year. Yet production in the manufacturing industry dropped by only 2 per cent.

In electrical engineering, road vehicles and consumer goods there was a slight increase in May. Only the construction industry lagged 3.5 per cent behind the previous year.

Hopes that the economy would receive a shot in the arm through stepped up exports were dampened by the disappointing orders in May.

But the central bank attributes the diminished demand in the manufacturing industry in May (8 per cent below the April level) to the heavy tide of orders in the preceding months.

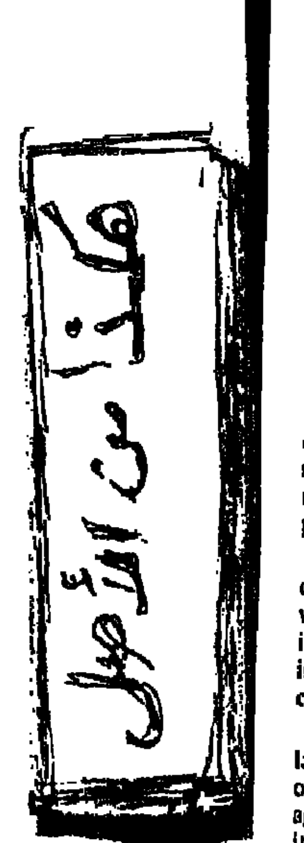
Foreign orders in May dropped by 10 per cent against April; but their volume was still 8 per cent greater than in the same month of 1980.

Domestic orders (adjusted for inflation) in May lagged 6.5 per cent behind April when a many of major orders came in.

Overall, the order books in May were slightly fuller.

Harald Manke

(Rheinische Post, 21 July 1981)



SPACE RESEARCH

Unlocking the secrets of the universe

Outer space, explains Peter Mezger, the man who runs Effelsberg radiotelescope, near Bonn, is open, endless. "I hope the idea doesn't worry you," he says, a note of satisfaction in his voice.

Professor Mezger leans back in his chair and says, with a happy smile, that the universe is expanding and will continue to do so for ever.

"The idea certainly doesn't worry me," he claims, looking convincingly relaxed in a polo-necked shirt and corduroy trousers.

This is an allusion to a number of schools of thought that are far from happy at the idea he shares with many other astrophysicists.

It is that a primal bang shook the universe 15 billion years ago, since when it has been drifting apart, the further the faster.

Professor Mezger is head of the Max Planck Radioastronomy Institute, Bonn. His radiotelescope, in the Eifel hills south of the city, is the largest in the world. It has been in operation for exactly 10 years.

His claim that the universe is expanding into infinity, while confidently made, is still controversial among astronomers. The imponderable is an elementary particle, the neutrino.

The neutrino's existence was postulated by Wolfgang Pauli to account for the beta decay of neutrons. When not in motion it seems to have no mass.

Physicists say that at rest it has zero mass. But if it has any at all (and there has yet to be experimental confirmation that it has), Professor Mezger's view of the universe will be in trouble.

To be able to say one way or the other whether the universe is open or closed, finite or infinite, scientists study the density of matter.

A cubic centimetre of water, weighing one gram, has a density of one. The earth as a whole has a density of five and a half. The mean density of the universe is minute — because of the wide open spaces between galaxies.

If all matter were equally distributed throughout the universe its mean density would be less than 10 to the power of minus thirty.

In other words, zero point 29 zeros, then a figure one. And that, says Professor Mezger, is 40 to 50 times below the critical density.

Critical density is a crucial concept in cosmology, or the study of the universe. If the density of the universe is greater and there are more particles per cubic centimetre, the expanding universe will stop expanding at some time or other.

In accordance with the laws of gravity it will then start contracting again, whereas if there is less matter per cubic centimetre it will carry on expanding for ever.

The critical density is roughly 10 to the power of minus 29 grams of matter per cubic centimetre of space.

Professor Mezger and his fellow-astronomers in Bonn arrive at a figure of less than the critical density by measurements of the frequency of the two lightest elements.

They do so by using the world's largest radiotelescope, Effelsberg with its dish antenna 100 metres (328.1ft) in diameter.

The gigantic antenna receives electromagnetic radiation in the radio range, between 75 centimetres and 7 millimetres in wavelength.

In this way it is possible to probe interstellar nebulas in which hydrogen is ionised by the light from a nearby hot star, areas in outer space known as H II regions.

They are particularly well suited for frequency measurement of hydrogen and helium, which between them account for 98 per cent of cosmic matter.

Inferences can be drawn from these measurements as to the density of elements. Density can even be reckoned back to what it must have been a few minutes after the big bang.

In the wake of their measurements and in accordance with theoretical considerations the Bonn boffins are convinced the density of the universe is less than 10 to the power of minus thirty.

Their findings are not yet universally accepted, however, Professor Mezger says, although other, unrelated observations indicate the same conclusion.

Experts will probably not be convinced until the neutrino problem has been solved and they know for sure whether it has mass or not.

Experiments have shown that neutrinos cannot weigh more than 30 electron volts, the electron volt being a unit of weight used by nuclear physicists.

That would make the neutrino 10,000 times lighter in weight than the electron. But this ceiling of 30 electron volts was the degree of accuracy of the experiments, so it is not a measurement of weight as such.

F. W. Stecker of the Goddard Space Flight Centre in America published early this year a hypothesis that neutrinos weigh about 14 electron volts each.

He arrived at this figure on the basis of purely theoretical considerations.

The Bonn radioastronomers have more to do than join in the quest for the elusive neutrino. Density estimates have shown that between galaxies the universe is nearly empty.

In other words, all mass is to be found in the many milky ways, and as Professor Mezger puts it: "The latest field of astrophysical research is gaining insight into how galaxies are formed."

How, indeed, did matter put evenly to flight by the big bang form individual concentrations of mass from which galaxies and stars later developed?

This raises the issue of the development of the elements, for the study of which even shorter wavelengths of less than 0.3 millimetres are needed.

But measurements in this range, the distant infra-red, cannot satisfactorily be taken in the humid atmosphere of the Eifel hills.

Steam in the atmosphere filters radiation out, certainly in this wavelength range, so the Bonn astrophysicists are associated with the construction of observatories in Southern Spain and Arizona.

A research aircraft is also to be built, in collaboration with the German Aerospace Research Institute (DFVLR) and six other European countries.

Horst Rademacher

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 July 1981)

On collision course

Gliese 710, a star that has made headline news in the United States, is set on a course that should bring it into head-on collision with the solar system.

It owes its name and its popularity to Wilhelm Gliese, a friendly middle-aged man who works at the astronomical computer institute in Heidelberg.

He invariably takes to the rostrum at international gatherings of astronomers when speculation about the origins, extent and future of the universe gets out of hand.

Gliese enjoys an international reputation as an expert on stars in the vicinity of the solar system.

There have been objections to his collision theory but the overwhelming majority of astronomers agree with his findings, subject to certain provisos.

Thirty-five years ago Wissotski and staff of Bonn observatory discovered Gliese 710 and many other previously unknown stars. It was first classified as BD 1-3474.

The initials referred to Bonn, the number helps to explain why little attention was paid to this particular star at the time. It was one of many.

It took computer statistician Gliese to notice that BD 1-3474 was set right on course for a head-on collision with the solar system.

Evaluation of his computer findings revealed that BD was heading towards the solar system, not away from it, at a speed of roughtly 25 kilometres a second.

It still has some distance to travel before it gets anywhere near our own planet, however: about 45 light years, to be exact.

Provided there are no changes in course, speed or direction, Gliese 710, as it is now known, should arrive on the solar scene in about 580,000 years.

In terms of the history of mankind this is a reassuring length of time. In terms of the estimated age of the solar system, five billion years, it is very little.

All computer estimates to date have arrived at the conclusion that Gliese 710 should pass by the solar system at a distance of between zero and five light years.

Zero would mean a direct hit on the Sun, which would mark the end of the solar system as we know it.

If, on the other hand, it were to pass by at a distance of five light years the solar system would hardly be affected, that being the approximate distance between the solar system and its nearest neighbour, Alpha Centauri.

Gliese reckons a direct hit would be extremely improbable but points out that if it were to pass by at, say, the distance of Jupiter from the Sun the solar system would unquestionably be in a turmoil.

Gliese 710, the sun that is heading our way, is a red dwarf star of the most common kind in the vicinity of our solar system.

Astrophysicists inferr from the powerful calcium radiation it emits that Gliese 710 is extremely young.

So even if it has earth-like planets orbiting it they will not boast even the most primitive living creatures, there not having been enough time for them to evolve.

But we will not know for sure for 580,000 years!

Heinz Günther

(Die Welt, 25 July 1981)

■ THE ARTS

Bayreuth changes show its flexibility

Thirty years ago Bayreuth was given a new look by Wieland and Wolfgang Wagner, the composer's grandsons. 1981 may well turn out to have been a similar turning point in the history of the Wagner festival.

The VIPs were there as usual, of course, headed naturally, in Bavaria, by Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss and his Education Minister, Hans Maier.

From Bonn there was Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and the distinguished foreign visitors included the Begum Aga Khan, who had not graced Bayreuth for five years.

Socially, nothing much seemed to have changed. Artistically, it was another matter.

Thirty years ago Wieland and Wolfgang Wagner embarked on a series of new productions of their grandfather's operas that were intended in part to purify the oeuvre from ideological contamination and political abuse.

Wagner's work was, of course, extremely popular in the Third Reich and the Wagner family were on the best of terms with Hitler.

The Wagner brothers suffered periodic setbacks in their bid to restore artistic integrity and never did succeed entirely, Wagner's operas remaining controversial.

Their explosive potential was not buried once and for all; often the fuse continued to glow and yells of anger were equally often heard from the victims of periodic explosions.

Bayreuth as an artistic workshop has continued to be receptive and flexible. Basically the festival made a logical progression from the 1951 *Parsifal* to Patrice Chéreau's *Ring*.

But times have changed. Critical and innovative productions such as those of directors Götz Friedrich, Harry Kupfer or Patrice Chéreau have given way to a new approach.

The new look, it may be taken, will be a little less aggressive, a little quieter and a little less strong on commitment (reflecting a swing of the social pendulum).

Take Jean-Pierre Ponnelle's *Tristan und Isolde*. It marks Ponnelle's debut at Bayreuth, also that of Daniel Barenboim as a conductor and Johanna Maier as Isolde.

Ponnelle's approach is middle-of-the-road. He transposes the tale into a more mythical distance and keeps the audience more at arm's length.

His sets are an odd variation on the subject of trees. In the first act the ship consists of rough treetrunks and is a kind of primitive landscape.

In the second nature has grown almost pure, with an enormous tree in full bloom commanding the stage.

In the last act there is an ice-grey island with two gigantic, petrified treetrunks splayed apart. It is clearly a Nordic island of the dead.

Against such backdrops Tristan is a rank outsider, a Black Prince dressed like a freebooter, a desperado even. His emotional outburst follows virtually as a matter of course.

Isolde too is clearly characterised by her appearance, her mise-en-scène. In the first act she is idolised by the powerful round and protective zone of her cloak.

She is a magic goddess, both bride and harbinger of death, who in the second act is transformed into a young and willingly yielding lover.

This distinction gives some idea of what the final act seems to bear out, that Isolde the beloved turns out to be a figment of Tristan's feverish imagination.

This time she certainly fails to reach Kareol. Kurwenal's report is intended to divert Tristan, who is driven to madness. She merely appears as a vision between the leaden treetrunks.

Kurwenal's fight with Melot and Marke is likewise merely indicated in outline as a gigantic play of shadows.

Strikingly effective though this solution may seem (and it is seen in glaring light, incidentally), it is by no means unproblematic.

The problem is not so much one of the mystical union of the lovers in joint death but of the elimination of individuality. Tristan is left on his own in his nocturnal darkness.

Ponnelle's interpretation of the second act seems more convincing, especially the scene with King Marke, which is extremely tension-laden.

Tristan and Isolde are not separated; they stay quietly together, carried away, unerringly persuaded of their unity. Here too Ponnelle makes full use of the lighting. The second act of *Tristan* has probably never been so brightly illuminated.

It will seldom have been heard at greater length either. Barenboim conducts the opera at a very slow pace, unfortunately resulting in a substantial voltage drop for much of the action.

He does not pick up speed until the final scene. But his piano is finely delineated, an alluring cobweb of soft warm colour. His wind, on the other hand, is pared to the extreme.

Seldom has one heard such tired woodwind, offset by dark, soft strings.

There was no sign on the first night of the ecstasy of Wagner's music, its passion and harsh dissonance even. It is stretched out even where the composer warned against overextension.

Barenboim sticks to epic mezzi, making an otherwise outstanding orches-

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Johanna Maier as Isolde ...wide range of expression.
(Photo: Festspiele Bayreuth / Siegfried Lauterwasser)

Dance academy falls from its professional best

There were too many amateur and student dancers at this year's Cologne international summer academy of dancing.

As a result, the high standards maintained over the years took a tumble.

A reason is that a big increase in interest in jazz dancing, ethnic dancing and even modern dance boosted the number of performers.

But not all indicated that they were amateurs.

Many lecture demonstrations and sideshows attracted spectators but jeopardised the hard professional work of the summer academy courses.

All this was particularly disappointing because this year is the academy's Silver Jubilee.

The aim was to keep tabs on developments in the international dancing scene with all its uncertainties.

The mainstay of the academy's work continues to be further education in classical dancing, and teachers of international repute were at Cologne again this summer.

They included Joelle Mazet from Paris, Eileen Ward from London, Dinna Björn from Copenhagen, Peter Appel from Basle, Simon Mottram from Stockholm and Ursula Borrmann from Cologne.

To boost and improve standards [...] scholarship-holders, 11 of them dan[...] were hired and lent a hand in the [...] ous classes. They came from Paris, [...] dapest, Copenhagen and Toronto.

So it was that outstanding work [...] accomplished and not only by Di[...] Björn, who taught her class the in[...] singly important Bournonville met[...] by Eileen Ward and by Simon Mott[...] who concentrated on the male dancers.

The general enthusiasm was a gr[...] help to the teachers of modern dance too, who included Mary Hinkson (Gra[...] ham) and Clay Taliaferro (Limón).

Even Alvin McDuffie from New Yo[...] who for the past six years has been o[...] of the favourite teachers at Cologne, s[...] he had never worked as successfully [...] this year.

The academy is also making headw[...] towards its second major objective, t[...] of stimulating choreographic underst[...] ding and creativity among dancers, w[...] are notoriously prone to imitate others.

Hans van Manen has for years taug[...] students his methods of choreogra[...] This year he rehearsed scenes from [...] *tuation*. He too was much happier t[...] he had been last year.

This year a class in modern dance w[...] run by Clive Thompson, head o[...] dance centre in New York. It cle[...] showed how urgently needed a be[...] acquaintanceship with modern d[...] choreography is.

This side of the academy's work s[...] definitely be intensified.

Clay Taliaferro's quest for a new c[...] tivity of movement was based on th[...] gacy of Mary Wigman and the Ge[...] dance of expression, which is still s[...] neglected in this country.

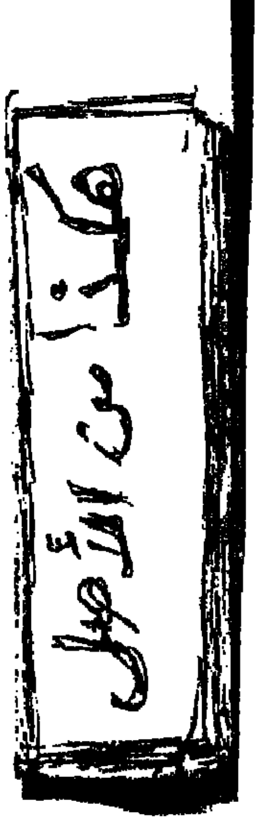
Another newcomer to Cologne w[...] choreographic workshop in which [...] Caciuleanu and his Théâtre Chore[...] phique de Rennes stimulated yo[...] dancers to get down to creative work.

Caciuleanu's aim was to stimulate [...] imagination of dancers who were [...] snowed under by the unimaginative [...] of training routine.

He did not yet have pretensions [...] developing structures of dance com[...]

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Ghanaian dance group lent a touch of character to Cologne academy.
(Photo: Alfred Koch)



ENTERTAINMENT

The circus that wouldn't die

[C]ircus Roncalli, playing to packed houses everywhere in Germany, was [laun]ched in July 1976 by two Viennese [circu]s fans, singer Andre Heller and [...] Bernhard Paul.

"We share a dream in common," they [cla]imed. "Yet the dream ended [...]ly after only a few weeks of rave [revie]ws and full houses.

[Th]e two men were at loggerheads, the [circus] folded and its obituary notices in [n]ewspapers said with genuine regret [that] there would surely never be such a [...] of a circus again, that there was [r]oom for such poetry in a down-to-[eart]h age.

The Big Top was dismantled, wages [we]re owing, the travelling circus and its [sta]ff, who had given so many people so [mu]ch pleasure in such a short time, dis[band]ed. It was all over.

Or so it seemed. Five years later Ron[ca]lli is back, risen from the ashes of [fore]closure and unsettled debts.

It owes its resurrection to the unflagging enthusiasm of Bernhard Paul, his [visi]on of a circus as theatre and nostal[gia] and an injection of cash and ideas [from] Emil Steinberger, the Swiss comedian [an]d TV star.

"It has been the toughest time of my [lif]e putting Roncalli back together [ag]ain," says manager Paul, who got the [ci]rcus back on to its feet without a pen[n]y in the bank.

Those who remembered the first Roncalli must have felt, as they stood in line waiting for the doors to open in Munich, it would be little short of a miracle if the circus were to be anywhere near as wonderful as it had been. But as they queued for the Journey to the Rainbow (the slogan of the current Roncalli programme), a "performance in two acts on sawdust with 10 scenes between the four poles of the Big Top," they were given a taste of what lay ahead.

The circus people, in full dress or costume, came out to spray the waiting crowds with confetti, to dab them with make-up and sprinkle them with glitter.

The audience felt they belonged even before taking their seats (either red chairs or wooden benches) in the brand new dark blue tent.

The opening number are Pic and Pello, pantomine clowns, who rush into the arena wearing outsize papier-mache masks and gesticulating as they look around for a seat.

It is easy to identify with the two clowns and this feeling of being at one with the company is maintained throughout.

It is sustained with imagination and sophistication from one number to the next, both full-scale numbers like the trapeze artists or the lion-tamer and interludes for scene-shifting that are clearly no more than minor inserts.

Noiselessly a gaily-coloured giant dragon wends its way round the aisles. So, a little later, does a two-man zebra.

Then the audience are roped in for a musical number featuring a glockenspiel. On the Munich premiere night August Everding, general manager of the State Opera House, was particularly belaboured by clowns and jugglers.

Balloons and suchlike extras are really nothing more than extras. They are not provided to offset other shortcomings of the show.

The colourful costumes of Holiday on Ice are pale in comparison with the dreamlike attire of a group of jugglers and acrobats from China.

Their acrobatics, their juggling, their jumps through hoops stuck with knives or ablaze put many a performance billed as a world sensation to shame.

The fire-eater, another relic of a bygone age, was equally enthralling. For a finale he blew an enormous sheet of flame from a glass of schnapps and put it out by swallowing it.

And what a successful combination of poetry, comedy and ability the audience were privileged to see in the Frog Prince number!

The glittering frog is an acrobat capable of the most astonishing contortions: Pic and Pello urge each other to kiss the frog (whom they visualise as being a bewitched princess).

Lights out, spot on, and into the ring rides Elvira, the Queen of Lippizana, on her circus horse. No chicken for a princess, she is dressed rather like Queen Elizabeth I of England.

She and her mount, a white horse, make the most accomplished equestrian combination one could possibly imagine.

As for the frog, it has turned into a creature that is all head with a pair of legs attached, like a figure from the imagination of Hieronymus Bosch.

It is ugly and sad, unable even to put the horse out of its stride by jumping to and fro and getting in its way.



Roncalli's back with something for everyone.

Bernhard Paul, who like Hitchcock plays minor parts in a few numbers, is unimpressed by routines that are so dangerous there is a serious risk of performers being maimed or killed.

But he has no objections to excitement, and the ring is cleared for Rene Strickler, a nimble-footed lion-tamer and the very opposite of everything one expects a lion-tamer to be.

Yet his number is an outstanding achievement, combining lions and tigers, panthers and brown bears (unmuzzled), a polar bear and two St Bernard dogs.

He makes it all look so easy! As for the St Bernards, they are only too happy to make their stay in the ring a short one. The other animals make them look somewhat puny.

Then comes sheer magic. Pello the clown rolls into the ring inside an egg-shaped container painted dark blue and dotted with stars.

To captivating music he just blows bubbles. They grow bigger and bigger, bursting like beautiful dreams that have to come to an end some time or other.

Without saying as much as a word Pello shows his disappointment, then delight as a new galaxy of bubbles glitters in the arena. The audience are no less delighted, sharing his childlike pleasure.

The decision to rehire the Olympiads, a three-man group of gold-painted acrobats who went through their routine at a breathtaking snail's pace in the fluorescent glare of the spotlights, was entirely justified.

Their turn is one you could watch time and again. The same goes for the clownery of Fredi Spaghetti, the waiter.



Men of Bronze steel themselves
(Photos: Stefan Odry)

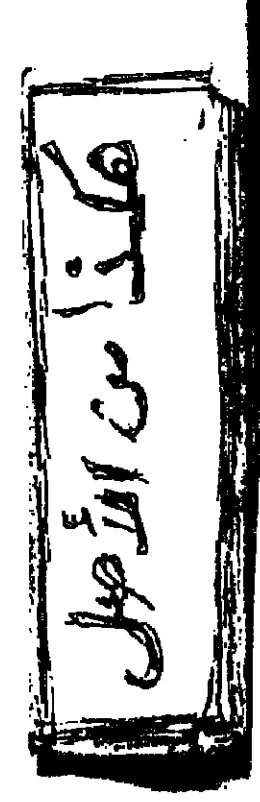
As for the Original Codrellis, a white-painted Harlequin and two flat-footed clowns, their routine was as timeless as circus itself.

"When the audience leave the Big Top of Circus Roncalli," said Bernhard Paul before the Munich premiere, "maybe they will see a few things differently."

The applause would seem to indicate that they all felt how right it was to have resurrected the circus of days gone by, a childhood memory many must have felt was irrevocably a thing of the past.

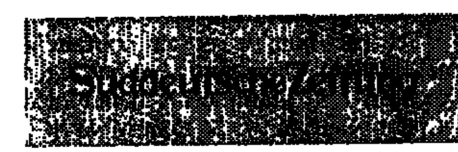
Gerlinde Wach

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 July 1981)



■ MEDICINE

Dead or alive? Problem for surgeons



A German group is working on a list of criteria to enable doctors to establish beyond doubt when someone is dead.

This is a major problem for surgeons, especially those involved in transplants.

There should be no conflict between, for example, giving an accident victim with severe brain damage the best possible care and needing his kidneys for a transplant.

The subject was discussed at the 7th International Congress on Neurosurgery in Munich.

A delegate from Würzburg, Eckard Halves, said that what mattered was to remove all doubt about the death of a potential organ donor.

The issue was becoming increasingly controversial, especially in view of the discussion on "humane death".

Here the problem was when to provide guidelines on when to pull out the plug.

Although brain surgery would be unthinkable without such modern methods as computer tomography, microsurgery and laser technology — despite all the criticism of a "soulless technological medicine" — technological progress has turned into a bugbear of neurosurgery, delegates heard.

Manfred Steinbach, of the Bonn Health Ministry, said that while technology was developing ever newer methods of treatment, it also made it more difficult to diagnose and prevent certain diseases that result from the technological and social changes in our environment.

Japanese neurosurgeon Seishi Fukuma suggested that the real question was whether technical development was not too fast to be applied sensibly.

Another medical-legal issue that was discussed at some length concerned the extent to which a doctor must tell his patient about his illness and the risks a possible operation might involve.

In this country there is a tendency to list all possible risks as comprehensively as possible in special forms that are handed to the patient.

But many doctors and lawyers reject this method. They say that the doctor should tell his patient personally.

Hans Kuhlendahl of Düsseldorf told the press that he felt patients were not always adequately informed of medical risks. But he also stressed that the accusations of not having fully informed their patients are frequently levelled deliberately with lawsuits for malpractice in mind.

The American Byron C. Pevehouse was asked how Germany could prevent American conditions where damages to the tune of billions of dollars are awarded by the courts in cases of malpractice.

He suggested that the disputes should be settled out of court and be put before arbitration committees of doctors, jurists and other personalities known for their integrity.

When Pevehouse said that there were too many doctors on such arbitration committees in Germany, he was vehemently rebutted by Kuhlendahl.

The explosive problem of stereotaxic psychosurgery was dealt with only on the periphery of the mammoth congress.

One paper on such surgery for patients suffering from chronic schizophrenia was read by a South Korean surgeon. There was also a film on this type of surgery and its application to behavioural disorders and uncontrollable aggression presented by an Argentinian team.

According to Karl-August Bushe, who chaired the congress, functional neurosurgery is in itself a speciality within the specialised field.

A press release pointed out that the spectacular reports on stereotaxic brain surgery for people who had committed sex crimes have provided the public with a distorted view of neurosurgery.

But the wide range of topics dealt with at the congress which amounted to a review of international achievements in this field seems to demonstrate the opposite. After all, stereotaxic operations account for less than one per cent in this field of surgery.

Renate Jäckle

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 July 1981)

Dance academy

Continued from page 10

tion. But maybe, in the long term, the generally depressing standards in choreographic competitions will improve as a result.

Susana's composition class showed that new choreographic developments could well be expected from the Spanish dance.

She ended her course with a fascinating group choreographic venture in the flamenco spirit entitled *Obsesión por Seguiriya.*

Sándor Timár from Hungary, who with musicians from his country rehearsed dances from Western Hungary and Rumania, provided an example of how folklorix dancing can accomplish more than merely preserving traditions.

Gisela Peters' course was particularly welcomed by teachers. She and her Cologne children's ballet showed just what importance dancing can have for children and what importance children's creativity can have for dancing.

Other quality items included that of the Spanish dance company headed by Ursula Kanflewski, a lecturer at the Cologne Institute of Stage Dance.

The final show again indicated the academy's enormous potential and that of its students and staff.

One can but hope that their exemplary work, influencing the international dancing scene as it does, will continue to be adequately subsidised next year.

Helmut Scheier

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 July 1981)

Anatomy of a cancerous cell

Cancer is largely caused by a major malfunctioning of body cells.

What happens is that such a cell or tissue can no longer fulfil its function within an organ, Professor Renato Dulbecco of San Diego, USA, told the 31st Congress of Nobel Prize winners in Lindau, Lake Constance.

Dulbecco, the 1975 Nobel Prize laureate for medicine, based his concept of the roots of cancer on experiments with animals where malignant tumours were induced by viruses or chemical substances.

Oversimplified, viruses are more or less poorly "packaged" genetic predispositions in a cell that cause it to produce similar genetic materials, reprogramming it, so to speak.

This brings about a fundamental change in the cell's function blueprint.

The change caused by the virus provides a new blueprint and mechanisms that could explain why the functional realisation of genetic material is changed in cancerous cells.

The change in the "expression" of the genes can cause a situation where the genetic information contained in a normal cell causes a malignant tumour.

What this boils down to is that the "excessive expression of potential cancer genes" creates tumours that are potentially there in normal cells but are harmless prior to the cell's transformation.

Dulbecco sees the development of cancer in two phases: the initial and the development phases.

Cell damage frequently does not show itself until 20 or 30 years after it has occurred.

To illustrate his point, he cited the following example: lung cancer attributed to cigarette smoking used to be blamed on the benzpyrenium contained in the smoke. The fact, however, is that smoke contains too little of this substance to cause cancer.

Today, medicine knows that benzypyrenium does not actually cause the tumour. It only promotes the development of a tumour in already damaged tissue.

In other words, cancer genes are harmless until activated by special substances, the tumour promoters. This applies to viral cancer and possibly also to the chemically induced variety.

Professor Christian de Duve of Brussels (1974 Nobel Prize for medicine) told the congress about methods of combating cancer through selective chemotherapy.

Chemotherapeutic treatment is directed against the tumour itself and thus attacks the degenerate cells when they are in the sensitive stage of splitting.

Unfortunately, he said, this chemical attack is usually not targeted accurately enough to affect only degenerate cells.

As a result, healthy cells are also destroyed in the splitting stage, which is one of the undesirable side effects of this type of treatment.

Work is now in progress in Brussels aimed at enabling doctors to target the treatment at the cancer cells only.

It is hoped that this will be made possible by the receptors or "contact points" that exist on the surface of every cell.

These receptors differ widely but there seem to be certain types that occur only in cancer cells.

By combining the drug with a "carrier molecule" that attaches itself to the cancerous receptors only, it should be possible to destroy only degenerate cells.

Though elegant in theory, this method is not easily realisable in practice. But prospects are promising, Professor de Duve said.

Rolf H. Simen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 July 1981)

Uniformity sought

Efforts are being made to stand... training in the branches of med... which use no drugs.

Naturopathy and homeopathy, for ex... ample, which still sometimes fall... the category of what used to be... folk medicine, are taught at a... of commercial schools.

The president of the North... Westphalia *Heilpraktikerschaft*, ... Surmann, said that the un... growth in these schools posed a... danger.

Not only was the quality of... at risk, Surmann told the *Land*... minister, Professor Friedhelm... mann, but the medical profession... also given ammunition to use... natural medicine.

Professor Farthmann said th... would suggest at the forthcoming... ference of state health ministers th... North Rhine-Westphalian tr... standards be adopted nation-wide.

The North Rhine-Westphalia... *praktikerschaft* has 558 active me... (The national association has a mem... ship of 3,700; there are a total of... practioners in this country.)

A training facility at Bochum... been run by the association since... It has three-year courses with ab... students in each intake.

The curriculum includes such s... as homeopathy, acupuncture, chi... tics, laboratory procedures, met... and blood disorders plus herbal... cinc.

The school also offers instruction... histology, physiology, immunolog... general biology. . . .

The training costs about DM1... Applicants are not subjected to ap... tests, the only qualification being a... imum age of 21.

Herr Surmann says more than half... applicants are high school graduates.

One of the main problems is li... ing. The law says that the practis... medicine without conventional tr... requires approval by the authorities.

But the only condition to be m... an examination by a health depart... doctor following completion of na... medicine training.

The medical profession has repea... expressed grave doubts about... examinations and their suitability... termining the medical knowledge of... candidate. The doubts are comp... unfounded.

It is exactly this that the... medicine association wants to co... with its demand for uniform tr... and examination guidelines.

The conflict between conven... medicine and nature healers, Herr... mann says, has been deliberately... up out of all proportion. The two... of medicine, he contends, overlap... supplement each other.

As he sees it, there is on the on... medicine in the form of applied... science and, on the other side... medicine which tries to or... therapy in a way that will co... natural processes and in which... tient is meant to play an active...

Surmann says health edu... important. He stresses the pr... prevention rather then cures at...

Even so, he emphasises that th... titioner of natural medicine mu... where his limits lie and when... must be referred to a convention... tor.

Klaus Hel...

(Rheinische Post, 23 Ju...)

■ OUR WORLD

Berlin squatters move in their senior team



A group of 43 academics, artists, writers and clergymen have thrown their weight behind the squatting movement in West Berlin.

They have moved into buildings which they consider likely to be demolished and say they are prepared to be demolished as well.

Among the 43 is a 72-year-old theologian and retired university professor, Helmut Gollwitzer, who arrived at his squat with a mattress slung over his shoulder.

The group took the action because it objects to the policies of Berlin's new CDU council.

It wants the council to stop demolishing houses and to begin renovating instead.

And it wants charges against arrested suqatters to be dropped.

According to Professor Gollwitzer the alternative would be proof that "our society, with all its scandals and rigid petrification, can no longer be changed."

Many of the protest group, including Professor Gollwitzer, are civil servants, and their action means that they could face disciplinary moves.

They certainly are an incongruous sight in their Kreuzberg surroundings *and are known to the squatters as* "Opi Freaks" (Grandpa Freaks).

There were cheers when Professor Gollwitzer arrived with his mattress.

"Take up thy bed and walk. Thy faith has kept thee hale," called one, lightheartedly.

Some of the group found it difficult to make the decision to move in, and the operation was postponed once so a Press statement could be agreed on.

Part of the statement read: "We want to move into nine or 10 of the most endangered buildings.

"And now anybody who wants to demolish them will have to demolish us as well."

The 43 consider it likely that they will be removed if not "demolished".

The political situation, Free University Professor Peter Grottian (flanked by the authoress Ingeborg Drewitz and the "father of the Berlin Constitution" Fritz Eberhard) told journalists, is "near hopeless".

This means that the new squat might already be too late.

Some three years ago the then president of Berlin's Technical University, Rolf Berger, asked the council to provide some of the city's empty houses as communications centres for Berlin's more than 70,000 university students.

Had this been done, the pent-up discontent that later led to all sorts of trouble could have been avoided.

Instead, the whole thing foundered on Berlin's bureaucracy.

It said there was so such thing as empty houses in Berlin.

It was then that the idea of squatting in its current form as *Instandbesetzung* (literally: maintenance occupation) was born.

Violence flared towards the end of last year when the mayor then, Dietrich Stobbe, ordered the occupied houses cleared without coming up with an answer to the pointless destruction of housing for monetary gain.

Hans Jochen Vogel, who succeeded Stobbe for a short while, managed briefly to contain the violence.

Now, a press conference by the Group of 43 has revealed not only the wide and almost irreconcilable gap between the city government and the protesters; it also gave an indication of the problems that will face the 43, who say they will squat for months if necessary.

The mood of the press conference was one of hostility.

"Police searches with the attendant recording of the names of the squatters and their 'criminalisation' will only make us more militant," said the statement.

Professor Eberhard said the Berlin Constitution guarantees the basic right to a home.

This provision was binding on the city, and while the Constitution made no provisions for any "right to speculation" it expressly granted the right to resist any restriction of the basic right to housing.

When Professor Eberhard added: "I wish you would continue your work along the lines of the Constitution ... and the Constitution makes no provision for hurling stones," the reaction was laughter. The politicians have meanwhile adopted an attitude which Austria's Chancellor Bruno Kreisky during a recent Berlin visit described as "pointless harping on the implementation of abstract legal tenets." Though Berlin's new mayor Richard von Weizsäcker, has been making an allout effort to find some way out of the dilemma and deserves being commended for it, the 43 are adamant that the problem cannot be solved as long as the council's disastrous economic policy favours the haves."



Professor Gollwitzer arrives at his new home.
(Photo: Gb...)

"The solution to the problem cannot lie in sending one section of the have-nots, those in police uniforms, to battle it out against the other have-nots who are squatting in the empty houses."

As a result, the city government should stop demolition, withdraw its charges against arrested squatters and develop a rehabilitation programme for the buildings in close consultation with the protesters.

Professor Gollwitzer's said: "If they destroy what 2,000 activists and another 15,000 sympathisers have done here the young generation will take this ... another proof that our society wi... its scandals and rigid petrificati... no longer be changed.

"All that will remain will be ... into an apolitical attitude, into dr... resignation.

"There will also remain a small ... ber of particularly intelligent ... people who will provide the nucle... a new urban guerrilla movement."

Translated into plain language, ... can only mean a new Red Army ... tion.

Otto Jörg W...

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 J...)

Invalid takes self-help case to appeal

A multiple sclerosis victim is appealing against a court decision.

What she wants is the right to do things herself where she can, rather than rely on nursing aid.

Ingeborg Liebewein, 56, fears that her illness, which has condemned her to a wheelchair, may become a lesser danger than her fellow-men.

Her lawyers argue that the only care she needs is help towards self-help.

The case hinges round facilities at a home for the old and ill in Stuttgart, which are not all designed for a crippled person to use alone.

To start from the beginning: Frau Liebewein was a photographer until 20 years ago when she got multiple sclerosis.

Despite the illness she enjoys going to the ballet and occasionally to the pub.

She gets on splendidly with the conscientious objectors working in the home as orderlies in lieu of military service.

The home belongs to the German Social Fund whose symbol is a dot in a circle that is not quite closed.

The dot signifies the patient and the circle a feeling of security. The broken part of the circle stands for the fact that the patient is not cut off from the outside world.

Frau Liebewein took this symbol to mean what it tries to convey.

However the administration of has evidently been greatly concerned because one of its patients is determined to enjoy life.

In a letter, the office told Frau Liebewein that she was expected to go to bed at 10.30 p.m., like all the other patients.

One night when Frau Liebewein went to the ballet and afterwards to a pub, and did not return until late, escorted by two orderlies, she received another letter, saying: "We find that you are again going to bed when you please."

The maxim in this Year of Disabled Persons is "Help Towards Self-Help" and Ingeborg Liebewein took it seriously.

In the small flat she has lived in for the past seven years there is what is known as a "wet cell" in the home. The wheelchair can be pushed in there and an orderly can put her on the toilet.

Frau Liebewein is quite capable of washing herself — except for her legs and her back. This is done by the orderly after overcoming her initial embarassment.

This is of paramount importance because the moment she is embarassed or afraid she simply stays in bed and nobody can get her out.

What matters, therefore, is to help rid the patient of fear.

All went well with Ingeborg Liebewein for a number of years. But then the home administration found that it too much work to look after her because her room was 80 metres from the staff room.

And since the ward for people requiring constant nursing was closer, Frau Liebewein was told that she should move there, despite opposition from her doctor.

In the nursing ward, however, the "wet cell" is so small as to make it impossible to shift the patient from the wheelchair to the toilet. Nor does it enable a patient to wash himself.

Ingeborg Liebewein fears that once she stops washing herself she wi... the ability to do so.

It is a typical feature of multip... rosis that patients who are forbidd... do something soon become una... it.

Frau Liebewein decided to go to c... The judges ruled in favour of the ... and ordered the patient moved.

It said that order in the home ... be maintained for the sake of the ... patients, and stressed that decency ... morals must not be placed in jeopa...

And exactly this was the case ... Ingeborg Liebewein because "she ... only be looked after by a conscie... objector when it came to being ... and shifted from the wheelchair t... toilet."

The court pointed out that the ... that the home had permitted this ... did not mean that the practice ... continue. Thus she has been ... moved to the nursing ward — i... name of the people.

This can only mean that she ... stripped of what freedom of move... she retains. She is to be forced into ... passive life than necessary.

This brings to mind what Dr. ... ca Carstens (wife of the West G... president) once said: "The progr... loss of physical prowess in ... sclerosis patients always harbou... danger of passivity ... and passivi... turn, means faster physical declin... hastened death."

Thus Ingeborg Liebewein is ... right when she says that her fellow... could well become a greater ... her than her illness.

When she received a letter ... she would also have to be ... future, she dropped her ... eating — the first time ever...

She is now waiting for her ... be heard.

Hansjörg N...

(Die Zeit, 24 ...)

SPORT

The teenage tennis player with the grown-up style

...brücken tennis starlet Claudia ...hde, 17, barely hit a headline by ... the international grand prix ...ments in Gstaad and Kitzbühel.

In Kitzbühel she beat Sylvia Ha... ...m Munich, whose world rating is ... in two sets — the second-best ...ance of her career.

...best was in Oakland, California, ...nths ago when she eliminated ...e Wimbledon winner Martina ...lova.

...d and Kitzbühel are not Wimb... of course, and her showing at ...don was somewhat disappoint... ...o were those of Miss Hanika and ...Bunge.

...was unlucky to be drawn, in the ... round, against Barbara Potter of ...ited States, the fair sex's answer ...oe Tanner.

... Potter is renowned for the aces ...erves, especially on grass courts. ...a Kohde lost 4-6, 6-7 to her, ... was fairly close.

...erwise given to self-criticism, she ...ar from dissatisfied with her show... ...ainst Miss Potter and most incens... the comment made by chief coach ...d Schönborn.

"...e made me hopping mad when he ... immediately after the match, that I ... been a bundle of nerves; it just ...'t true."

...Schönborn discovered her when she ... *10 and* has kept an eye on her ... She is now 17, a strapping 1.85 ... (6ft 1in) and none too keen on ...ef coach.

...year she was one of a galaxy of ...n tennis starlets including such well-known names as Hanika, Eva Pfaff and Christoph Zipf.

All of them have gone on to become European junior champions at one time or other. She was the youngest to do so, at the age of 13 (in her age group, of course).

"Claudia then had to decide whether to go all out for tennis as a career or to play it safe and pass her *Abitur*," says her stepfather Jürgen Kilsch, a Saarbrücken solicitor.

But if she took her university entrance exams she would surely miss out on top-flight international tennis, so the family decided it was to be tennis.

They did so largely because Claudia was both sick and tired of school and keen as mustard to carry on with tennis. So she left school at 15 with a junior school certificate.

At 15 she became the youngest-ever German tennis professional, and Tennis Association officials were delighted.

At long last they had a girl who, like the US tennis teenagers, was willing to take the plunge into the chill waters of international tennis.

She was given every encouragement, being named a member of the four-woman Federation Cup team last summer (the Federation Cup being roughly equivalent to the Davis Cup for men).

A number of older women were somewhat upset at being overlooked, but in sporting terms her nomination was a complete washout, she says.

Her stepfather and manager says: "Claudia posed time and again for Press photographers as the baby of the team, but in the end she never played." She is not a girl to engage in much talking, but that omission still rankles with her. This year she would probably have played but is most unlikely to be available for the Federation Cup, Herr Kilsch explains. "In addition to the ridiculous sums the Tennis Association pays in comparison with what the men get for playing in the Davis Cup competition there is another reason why I have advised Claudia not to take part," he says.

The reason is Sylvia Hanika, her rival. The two girls have never been all that keen on each other, as neither would for a moment deny.

Sylvia is a temperamental, voluble Bavarian, Claudia is more reserved. Their relationship can certainly not go on as it is, Herr Kilsch says:

"For months Sylvia and Claudia have gone past each other as though the other did not exist. They are simply out of the question as team-mates.

"I was really surprised they went as far as to shake hands after the final in Kitzbühel."



Claudia Kohde ... tennis before school.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Is Sylvia Hanika, unquestionably the No. 1 German tennis girl at present, an incentive or a red flag to Claudia Kohde?

"Sylvia," she coolly says, "is a colleague and a rival like anyone else. I aim to be better than she is soon, but it has nothing whatever to do with the fact that we come from the same country."

Whether she will succeed in outshining the Munich girl remains to be seen. It is an equation with too many unknown factors.

Sylvia is No. 6 in the world ratings of the Women's Tennis Association, while Claudia is 29th, albeit with continual improvements.

Yet even though she has already proved more successful than a German tennis professional ever was at her age, it is still a long way to single figures in the computer ratings and the sunny side up at the top.

Jochen Greinus

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 July 1981)

Bayreuth

Continued from page 10

...t times vanish altogether into the ...round.

...is naturally to the advantage of ...ngers, who can sing out and do ...have to overstretch themselves in ...etition with the orchestra.

...the final scene René Kollo as Tris... thus able to stretch his voice out ... full in an outstanding perfor...

...ana Meier is a vocally unheroic ... (just as her role is cast unheroi... She has a wide range of expres... but is not required to supply major ...nts of either passion or scorn.

...n so, she is a fine soprano and ...ne day be a superb Isolde.

...ti Salminen as King Mark is less ...ed in comparison with the usual ...ach to the opera than are either ...n or Isolde.

...is able to give voice to his pain ...hardship and does so convincingly. ...a Schwarz as Brangäne, on the ... hand, is not in the form she has ...n in the *Ring*.

...relatively high-pitched voice cur... ...y lacks an element of quiet fullness, ... Hermann Becht as Kurwenal, a ...what clumsy trooper, seemed to be ...f sorts on the first night.

...the premiere was tempestuously ...ded and no-one seemed to feel it ... any way provocative.

Rudolf Jöckle

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 27 July 1981)

Moves to put boxing back in schools

The Amateur Boxing Association plans to reintroduce boxing as a sporting option at German schools, where it was an accepted school sport before the war.

It was scrapped by Education Ministers in 1953.

At present there is merely talk of experiments and trials, of optional groups the association is keen to encourage. But the trend is clear.

Officials want to promote boxing as a school sport in order to keep children interested. As it is, boxing club membership is declining fast.

But opponents of boxing at school will hear nothing of the idea. An association representing more than 100,000 schoolteachers gave it the thumbs-down after a conference of its school sport specialists.

Wilhelm Ebert from Bonn, its president, says: "In view of the 310 boxing fatalities around the world since the war no responsible teacher can let his pupils go in for boxing with an easy conscience."

Boxing officials are busy marshalling counter-arguments. An experiment in Tübingen, they say, is a voluntary one supervised by qualified staff.

Günter Jendrek, a teacher and former amateur boxer, is said to have compiled a scientific report on similar trials at a career training college in Duisburg.

Age limits are the problem. The upper limit has already been set. Amateur boxers retire at 37 at the latest. But there are no age regulations at the other end of the scale.

In the Soviet Union, for instance, 12 is the earliest age at which boys can go in for amateur boxing. In France it is 16.

"In theory," says ABA medical adviser Dr Wolfram Lemme, "babes-in-arms can go in for boxing in this country. So there really must be a lower limit set, and not too low."

He is opposed to boxing both for boys and at school. Views differ, and not even the doctors agree on whether the plan makes sense or is advisable.

"We know nothing really," Dr Lemme says, "not even what, in medical terms, goes on in the ring."

Doctors hope to learn more from a long-term probe commissioned by the Bonn Interior Ministry in 1975. But it will take 30 years.

So does this mean another 24 years of uncertainty until the long-term effects of boxing on health have been investigated?

"The younger you start, the more likely you are to suffer from chronic after-effects in later life," Dr Imre Forgo, who has examined 182 amateurs at Basle University Hospital neurology department, says.

He has misgivings about sending scrapping kids from the school playground into the gym. "The knockout blow is not the main problem," he says. "It is the many seemingly harmless ones."

In the course of a boxer's career in the ring they can lead to serious shortcomings in the central nervous system.

Hamburg neurologist Professor Hans Finkemeyer is even blunter. Boxing for kids or at school? "A load of bunk," he snorts.

There are better and much less dangerous ways of keeping kids fit, but what really matters is what goes on in the brain:

"In the long run tissue damage can occur that could later cause serious mental trouble."

He feels it is downright perverse to try and boost a child's self-confidence by allowing him to knock out another child.

Another view is voiced by Lübeck theologian Hans-Joachim Thilo. "Every day," Professor Thilo says, "I have to deal with youngsters who are simply unable to bear frustration. Young people really must learn to box their way through once more."

It earned him a reader's letter in the news magazine that quoted him which went as follows:

"Not even the decadence of Ancient Rome went as far as to send children as gladiators into the arena, but our highly civilised society looks on indifferently when six-year-olds knock the stuffing out of other six-year-olds."

Peter Stützer

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 24 July 1981)